

THE
YOUNG OFFICER'S
COMPANION;
OR,
ESSAYS
ON
MILITARY DUTIES AND QUALITIES;
WITH
EXAMPLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS FROM HISTORY.

A New Edition.

EDITED, WITH NUMEROUS CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS,

BY
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LONDON
WILLIAM WHITE XXIV PALL MALL
MDCCLII.

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LONDON :

G. J. PALMER, PRINTER, SAVOY STREET, STRAND.

P R E F A C E.

THE Regulations lately issued by the authorities of the Horse Guards, for the examination of all Candidates for Commissions in the Army, in a certain course of ancient and modern history, arithmetical studies, languages, and the elements of fortification, have caused a considerable anxiety on the part of the parents and friends of the Candidates for Commissions as to the best means and most appropriate course of study for qualifying them to pass examinations so important to their future career.

It had long since become matter of surprise that, while very high attainments were required from the youthful candidates for the Ordnance Corps, yet that some moderate, well-considered, and practical course of study, sufficient to prove

that the Candidates had received the usual education of English gentlemen, had never been established for those who enter the service of Cavalry and Infantry.

This, however, was to be accounted for in some degree by the general progress and improvement of education among the classes from which the great proportion of our young officers have for many years been supplied ; for the instruction acquired at our public schools had of late years become far superior to what it was at the close of the war ; and it is remarkable, since the conclusion of that war, how many young men, before entering the army, have waited to take degrees at the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge. A great desire of improvement has been also apparent in the numerous annual applications from the junior ranks of officers for leave to visit the exercise camps on the continent, to attend the engineers' course of instruction at Chatham, and to pass through what is termed the senior department at Sandhurst.

The superior education too of the officers of the India Company's service has become an object of remark during the late campaigns in India, where the talent and science of many officers of the younger ranks have frequently attracted the notice and praise of the most distinguished authorities.

It is well known that military education was much

fostered in France by Buonaparte, in spite of the rapid succession of his campaigns, which scarce gave time for any complete course of education before the school-boy became an officer.

From the French the great bulk of military writings has emanated. Of late years, the officers of the French service have been annually publishing a considerable number of military books. Fresh memoirs and narratives of the events of the last war, and commentaries on every branch of the military art, are constantly appearing in Paris.

There are, no doubt, plenty of excellent scientific military books in our own language, (though many of them are translations,) but so little has been the demand for them until latterly, that several have gone altogether out of print; for instance, the admirable *Military Elements* of Sir C. Pasley was out of print for many months and has not long been re-published. But as to military books of a lighter cast, they are not at all in proportion to the other literature of the day, though the libraries established in every barrack, would of themselves seem to require a large supply of such publications.

These essays pretend only to a very humble place in the latter class. The work from which they are edited was published in 1809 under the title of the "*Military Mentor*," the author of which candidly stated in his preface that he had gleaned largely from

a French book, called the "Conseils d'un Pere a son Fils," which at that time had acquired some celebrity, though deteriorated in its latest edition by a revolutionary editor, who sought to make his book a vehicle for his enthusiastic praises of the democratic heroes of the Revolution, rather than to repeat anecdotes and notices of Turenne, and other great officers of the old French Monarchy, which, in the original work were in many instances well selected, and appropriate to the subject.

The writer of the "Military Mentor" was not free from pedantry, and interlarded his letters too frequently with anecdotes from the ancient histories of Greece and Rome, which, however suitable to the swaggering taste of a large portion of the French public, are too trite, and in many instances too difficult of belief for a matter-of-fact English reader. Even if it be really true, such heroism as that recorded of Martius Scævola thrusting his hand into the fire merely to show his contempt for pain, will not possess for a young Englishman half the interest that he will feel in the leader of an assault or forlorn hope described in the spirited pages of Gleig or Napier.

But the author of the "Military Mentor" collected nevertheless a number of curious and interesting adventures, connected with modern warfare. His general opinions of the habits, studies,

and examples of military life, evidently emanated from a mind well cultivated, and imbued with a true sense of honour, and his sentiments, and the instruction and advice which he proffered were those of a man of the world and an acute observer of mankind.

The "Military Mentor" was originally published in the form of a series of letters, but it has been considered that by arranging the same matter in the shape of essays, some circumlocution might be avoided, and several additions more conveniently made; for as the editor proceeded with the work, so many remarkable examples and illustrations from the modern history of Europe, and also from the most recent military events of our own time presented themselves, that he has ventured upon a considerable extension of the various subjects, still adhering, however, to most of the original heads and classifications.

It is not pretended in these pages to throw any fresh light upon history, or to add in the least degree to military science; the object is merely to lead the young reader to the consideration of certain precepts of conduct and military principles likely to be useful, and to encourage him to the study of history by a selection of examples and anecdotes which appear to illustrate many of the chances and emergencies of a soldier's life. It is hoped that these illustrations, by giving him the

taste for such reading, may lead him to trace out and follow up methodically in the pages of history the lives of eminent military characters, and the course of events which afforded those persons the occasion of displaying their military spirit, their clear judgment, and their devotion to the service of their country.

CONTENTS.

ESSAY I.

INTRODUCTION	Page 1
--------------	--------

ESSAY II.

ON HEALTH AND BODILY STRENGTH.

Endurance—Charles XII.—Sawarrou — Hardihood of James II. when Duke of York—Conduct of Napoleon during Moscow retreat—Frederick the Great—Earl of Peterborough—Medical precautions—Attention of the Duke of Wellington to the health of his troops . . . 7

ESSAY III.

ON COURAGE AND INTREPIDITY.

Motives of military courage—Anecdote of a midshipman in Rodney's action—Corporal Trim's notions upon death—Crillon and the Duke of Guise—Execution of General Ellinburg for surrender of Dismude—Dr. Johnson's remarks on the courage of English troops—Laudon's resolution at Belgrade—Chevalier Bayard at Garigliano—Frederick the Great at Torgau—Bra-

very of the Hungarian garrison of Agria—Of a party of Moravians at Nemecz—Count Saxe's desperate defence of the town of Crakintz—Zieten at Mollwitz—David Gam—George II.—Spirited reply of an English drummer 23

ESSAY IV.

ON FIRMNESS.

Marquis de la Floride at Milan—Siege of Trembaula—Hope the grand pensionary of Amsterdam—Comte de Lippe in Portugal—Muting of Scipio's army in Spain—Of a Highland Regiment in 1743—Count Schlick, the Bohemian leader 59

ESSAY V.

ON THE LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY.

Henry IV. of France—Maria Theresi's address to the Hungarians—Francis, Duke of Lorraine—Muley Moluc's heroic death—St. Hilaire and the death of Turenne—Sir Philip Sidney—Duke of Charost at the siege of Lille—General Zieten—Siege of Rendsburg 76

ESSAY VI.

GREATNESS OF MIND.

Iroquois Indians—Pausanias—Capture of Privernum—Porus and Alexander—Richard I.—Francis, Duke of

Guise—Henry, Duke of Guise—Gustavus Adolphus—His conduct to Banier and Colonel Seaton—Story of Valentine and Unnion—Noble conduct of Eugene to Marlborough—To the Emperor 92

ESSAY VII.

ON HUMANITY.

Cruelty of Charles the Bold at Nesle—Of Cromacell at Drogheda—Humanity of Henry IV.—Of the Duke of Marlborough—Of Cæsar at Pharsalia—Turenne forced into harshness by Louis XIV.—Chevalier Bayard—Gonsalvo of Cordova's clemency to the Neapolitans—Peter the Great at Narva—Lord Peterborough at Barcelona—Marshal Keith—General Wolfe—The Duke of Wellington—Henry the Fourth's humanity to the Parisians—Prince Charles, Edward—The Regent Duke of Orleans—Sir Philip Sidney 107

ESSAY VIII.

ON MODESTY.

Count de Soissons—William Prince of Orange—Turenne—General Wood's success at Wymendahl—Colonel Mahony's conduct at Cremona—Zieten—Prince Ferdinand and Lord George Sackville—The Count de Merci—Battle of Parma—Gustavus Adolphus—Black Prince and King John of France—Prince Eugene after the battle of Zenta 130

ESSAY IX.

VANITY AND INDISCRETION.

<i>Discretion of Monk, Duke of Albemarle—Gustavus Adolphus at the capture of Wurzburg—Henry IV. and the fort of Barreaux—Turenne and St. Arbre</i>	159
--	-----

ESSAY X.

FRIENDSHIP AND GRATITUDE

<i>Lord Clive and Mr. Chauncey—Lucillus and Brutus—Bombardment of Algiers—Marshal d'Aumont—Henry II. and Hubert de St. Clare—Louis d'Ars and Ives d'Alegre—William III. and Bentinck—Buonaparte's legacy to Cantillon</i>	178
---	-----

ESSAY XI.

DRINKING AND GAMBLING.

<i>Alexander and Clytus—Seizure of Rathernau by the Baron de Bries—Eduard the Fourth's army at Amiens—Story of Colonel Daniel—Laws of France against gambling</i>	196
---	-----

ESSAY XII.

ON ANGER.

Louis XII. and Alviano—Remarkable explosion of powder—Gustavus Adolphus's self-control—Duke of Marlborough's equality of temper—Lord Clive—Lord Hill and General Brun—Russian General in quarantine

218

ESSAY XIII.

ON HONOUR.

Scipio and the Centurion—Louis XII.'s noble declaration—William III. and General Hamilton—Henry IV. and Theodoric Schomberg—The Duke of Normandy and Lord Norwich—John King of France and the Black Prince—Francis I. and Charles V.—James II., when Duke of York—Viscount Dundee and the Duke of Gordon—Lord Wellington and the Spanish General

235

ESSAY XIV.

ON DUELLING.

Pulvis and Varenus—The Baron de Lunebourg and the Duke of Guise—Turenne—General Coote—Colonel Guise—General Oglethorpe and the Prince of Wirtemberg—Turkish notions of duelling—Colonel Gardiner

*Mandeville's views of duelling—Dr. Johnson's opinion—
Laws enacted against duels by successive French mon-
archs—Melancholy fate of two young French Lieuten-
ants—Colonel Wood and the French Refugee Officer—
Montesquieu's remarks on duelling—Lord Bruce and
Sir Ed. Sackville—Articles of War—Major Campbell
and Captain Boyd—Gustavus Adolphus's religious cha-
racter—Condé and Navailles—General Zieten—Addi-
son's observations on avoidance of quarrels . . . 255*

ESSAY XV.

ON MILITARY SCIENCE.

*Necessity of study—Geometry—Drawing—Roman engines
—Invention of gunpowder, and its effects in war—An-
cient cannon—Battering rams—Ranges of cannon—
Ricochet firing—Shells at the Siege of Wachtendonk—
Matchlocks—Muskets—Origin of fortification—Gra-
dual improvements—Mines used by Gonzalo of Cordova
at Naples—Montenapoli on Turkish sieges—Great mine
at the Siege of Alcant—Modern sieges—French miner
at Badajoz—Commissariat, how organized by the Duke
of Wellington 302*

ESSAY XVI.

MILITARY ELOQUENCE AND WRITING.

*Wallenstein's despatch to Pappenheim—Philip IV. to Spi-
nola—Duke of Lorraine to Leopold I.—Joseph II. to*

Marshal Lascey—Maria Theresa to Count Palfy—Lord Clive to Watts—To Colonel Forde—Duke of Wellington's orders and letters—Letter of a Corporal of 9th Lancers—Ancient harangues—Duke of Marlborough's addresses to his troops—Henry IV. at Ivry—Gustavus Adolphus at Leipsic—Prince Maurice at Nieuport—Prince Henry of Prussia at Prague—Governor Hodges—Sir William Mordaunt at St^e Lucie . . . 337

ESSAY XVrr.

HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, AND LANGUAGES.

Evils of idleness in general—Best method of study—Knowledge of history—The Thirty years' war—Mode of studying geography—Uncle Toby's view of geography—Examination of country—Roads—Rivers—Positions—European languages—French—Spanish—Italian—German . . . 362

ESSAY XVIII.

ON DISCIPLINE

Nature and necessity of discipline—Marshal Turcan as a Captain—Lord Wellington's opinion of discipline in reference to formation of Spanish army—Caesar's instruction of his soldiers—Importance of general instruction of troops for service—Health of soldiers—Value of old soldiers in actual warfare—The Caribbees at Blenheim—Cathcart's account of the good discipline of the allied armies in 1813—March of 43rd Regiment from New Brunswick to Canada—Clauzel's expedition in Africa . . . 394

ESSAY XIX.

CONFIDENCE OF THE SOLDIERS.

Cæsar's influence over his soldiers—Siege of Leyden—Panic of Spaniards at the siege of Barcelona in 1641—Prince Charles Edward—General Monk—Frederick the Great—General Zieten—Wreck of the 91st Regiment at Cape of Good Hope 427

ESSAY XX.

STRATAGEM, CAUTION, AND SECRECY.

Capture of Breda in 1590—General Rantzau's mistake in Marlborough's last campaign—Surprise of an English regiment of Lord Galway's army in Spain—Surprise of Zarenberg by the 88th regiment under the Hereditary Prince—Fatal rashness of Braddock, and his defeat and death.—Charles I. after Fedge Hill—Comte de Guebrant at the siege of Brisach—Lord Peterborough's stratagems in the Succession War—Washington—Comte de Saxe—General Wolfe—Duke of Marlborough and Charles XII—Prince of Orange's prudence 452

ESSAY XXI.

ARMIES OF EUROPE.

Greek tactics—Roman Legion—Age of Chivalry—Crusaders—Crossbow-men—English archers—Louis XI an enemy to chivalry—Charles the Eighth's entry into Rome—Artillery at the battle of Ravenna—Armies of

Charles V.—Armies of the Thirty Years' War—Disuse of armour—Military dress and equipment—Tilly's dress on a march—Armies of King William—Duke of Marlborough—System of Warfare—Regulation of the British service—Armies of the French Revolution—National Guards—System of "Column of attack"—Buonaparte—Moreau—Austrian army—Marshal Lascy—Russian army—Suvarrow—Colonel Cathcart's description of Buonaparte's system of tactics—The Duke of Wellington's system—Formidable fire in line of British infantry—Peculiar formation and effects of the British square 485

ESSAY XXII.

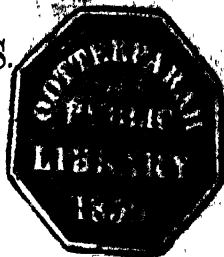
QUALIFICATIONS FOR COMMAND.

Marshal Saxe's description of the qualifications for a General—Activity of pursuit—Effect produced by a single English squadron after Ramillies—Henry IV. at siege of Laon—Rivalry of Condé and Turenne—James II. when Duke of York and the Spanish Generals in Flanders—Marshal Berwick—His skill in sieges—Lord George Sackville and Prince Ferdinand at Minden—Character of Zieten—Affair of Finkenstein's Dragoons—The Duke of Wellington—Conclusion 527

ESSAYS.

ESSAY I.

INTRODUCTION.



It is a common and popular error to consider the military profession, except in its scientific departments, as a life of pleasure and idleness. Surely this is a very mistaken view; for there is none that requires more genius and talents, more strength of mind, as well as of body, that calls for greater self-denial, a stricter government over the passions, closer application, more ready obedience, or a more rigid attention to general conduct.

It is upon the military man that the other classes of the community, who are occupied with the various business of civil life, depend, in times of trouble and danger, for their safety and protection; they are entitled to consider a soldier as at all times ready to shed his blood for the liberty, the honour, and the glory of his country; for the preservation of their property, the defence of his sovereign, and the public good.

But this confidence will only exist in proportion as his talents and energies are rendered useful to the state. This is what the officer must be ambitious to attain, and this is the only road that can conduct him to eminence. Without laudable emulation he can never hope for distinction. But there is nothing discouraging in this view of the military career; quite the contrary; every day's experience shows, that, although patronage and favour must, as in every walk of life, be of service to the officer in rising to the higher ranks of the profession, yet if he proves unfit for the promotion he has prematurely gained, his real value is certain to be eventually known; and he has only the option of retiring before his incompetence is discovered, or of risking exposure and disgrace by attempting a task for which he has not prepared himself in early life by availing himself of opportunities of study and improvement.

"He that confines himself to his own views only," says an old author, "however just they may be, is, in most cases, less likely to improve than he that adopts, compares, and enlarges upon, the thoughts of others; and this remark is perhaps more applicable to the military profession than any other line of life; because it is only by discarding prejudice and endeavouring to take a reasonable and practical view of the various duties and contingencies

of military life that a man can discipline and form his mind to the attainment of that clear and prompt judgment which is the first qualification of a good officer.

It is not enough to devote daily a certain number of hours to reading, even to reading books which contain much improvement, unless the mind is at the same time schooled and disciplined to extract from them what is practically useful, and the memory accustomed to retain and store away for the time of need and emergency, those principles and deductions which should be the special objects of the reading of one who intends in earnest to make the army his profession. But of all the studies to which a young officer should direct his mind, none will be found more important than that discrimination of character, and observation of the habits of men, upon which so much of his influence and powers of command must one day depend.

Let him not deem it beneath him to commence with the ordinary detail of the subaltern's duties in this respect; let him quietly but diligently observe and notice the varieties of disposition, temper, and habit, of the soldiers under his immediate authority; let him apply his attention to imitate the manner in which the best officers of the different ranks in the regiment to which he finds himself appointed exercise and support their authority over the non-

commissioned officers and men. With this attention it is impossible, after a little time, for any one of fair capacity to mistake the true and only mode of governing soldiers, and acquiring their respect and attachment. The greatest popularity of manner will not avail for this purpose ; the first step in advance is one which demands his unremitting pains and diligence, namely, a thorough knowledge of his own duty. This cannot be entirely learned from books of regulation, however elaborate. Frequent reference to those who are best able to inform him, perfect absence of conceit, and willingness to be taught by such persons, whether of high or low rank in the corps,—such, and such alone, are the means by which he can acquire that knowledge of his duty, without which he must not expect that ready and cheerful obedience with which the orders of a good officer are invariably received by his men.

We frequently see young men, on joining their regiment, commence with much zeal, and acquire with proportionate quickness, the rudiments of their professional instruction, but some slight disgust or rebuke, whether deserved or not, seems at once to damp their energy ; they fancy their efforts are not properly encouraged ; that favour is shown to some one less meritorious ; that others obtain more leave ; or are preferred to more agreeable duty than that which falls to their lot ; or some similar cause of grievance.

This is a most unhappy disposition for a young officer; he presently degenerates into an habitual grumbler, and not only unfits himself for his profession, but does so much mischief among his younger comrades, that his commanding officer soon looks upon him as a positive promoter of discontent, and perhaps eventually shows him, in reality, that disfavour, which at first existed only in his own imagination. These and many other discomforts may always be avoided by the exercise of that patience, and forbearance, which is one of the first qualities of a military man, and which, as he rises in rank, become equally necessary as during his earliest service as a subaltern.

When a young officer finds himself inclined to indulge in complaint of grievances and partial treatment, let him but turn to almost any page of the life of Marlborough, or the biography of the Duke of Wellington, as portrayed in his own wonderful despatches, and he will very soon see what vexation those great men, in their greatest glory, had to contend with, from the envy, jealousy, and stupidity of governments, or persons in authority, with whom their position in the command of armies, placed them in unavoidable communication, and to whom they were so frequently obliged to concede points, in direct contradiction to their own judgment, in order to avoid ruptures, which would have injured the public good. If ever there

were trials of patience, these two great men certainly had to endure them to the uttermost, Marlborough from the Dutch Deputies, and the Duke of Wellington from the government of Spain.

In both cases it is most remarkable that they thought little of proving themselves, as was easy enough, to be in the right; the only question with them seems to have been, how they might best get over the dispute, with least bad effect to the public service, and the good of their own country. No personal feeling, no pride, no consciousness of their own wisdom, or of the folly of those they had to deal with, was ever suffered to interfere with the great principle of the public good.

Surely such examples must suffice better than any reasoning, to convince every man entering on the military career, of the necessity of suppressing that susceptibility and impatience of temper, which leads some unfortunate persons to think that every one under whose authority they have to serve is disposed to do them less justice than they deserve, and that they are specially selected for mortification or neglect.

Among the various instances of merit which it is proposed to quote in the following pages, none will be found more worthy of the young officer's attention, than such as display that generous forbearance, and enduring patience, which were the brightest qualities of so many heroic characters of military history.

ESSAY II.

ON HEALTH AND BODILY STRENGTH.

“HEALTH,” says Montaigne, “is one of the most precious of gifts ; without this, life itself is scarcely tolerable ; pleasure, wisdom, and learning, destitute of this, lose all their attractions.”

“ He then who devotes himself to the profession of arms, ought to do everything in his power to preserve a treasure so inestimable, and to avoid every excess which might endanger it. Choose your pleasures, and enjoy them : but let them be of such a character as reason and honour may approve : and in order to possess them long, partake of them sparingly. Young men, thinking they have so much health and time before them, are very apt to neglect or lavish both, and reduce themselves before they are aware ; whereas a prudent economy in each, far from break-

ing in upon their pleasures, would improve and prolong their duration.

The military profession is not designed for the effeminate, nor for such as are too fond of ease : it requires, in a higher degree than any other, that bodily vigour which can bear with indifference, or even with cheerfulness, both inconveniences and difficulties.

Many who embrace the profession of arms, are determined in their choice, only by their hope of leading a life of greater gaiety, freedom, and ease, than they had been accustomed to beneath the paternal roof. To such indeed as are content with the idea of remaining undistinguished in their first station, or their original rank, or that which they may attain by the assistance of influence, or by regular and slow gradation, the life of a soldier may in some degree present a prospect of that kind ; but those who are animated with a proper emulation, and eager to overleap the multitude of competitors standing between them and such honours, cannot accustom themselves too early to inclemencies and changes of seasons, and every inconvenience to which a soldier is exposed. The greatest masters in the art of war have held it their indispensable duty to set an example to their soldiers, of enduring the privations to which their whole army were exposed. Charles the Twelfth, in the height of his glory,

slept on a bear's skin thrown upon two trusses of straw, on which he lay down in his clothes, in the same way as the meanest soldier!

* Suwarrow, when commanding the army of Russia, led the simple life of a soldier, and never indulged in luxury and pomp. He slept but a few hours, on a bed of hay, and in a tent, during nearly all the seasons of the year.

* Upon one occasion, when he arrived at Vienna, at the hotel of the Russian ambassador, he immediately ordered all the superfluous furniture to be removed from the apartments fitted up for his reception. Instead of the beds of down, a couch was prepared for him on the ground, of hay and straw, over which was a mattress; the soft silken chairs were exchanged for hard matted stools, and all the looking-glasses taken out of the room. He had an extraordinary aversion to looking-glasses, and did not make use of any during the last twenty years of his life. The empress Catherine, knowing this peculiarity in his character, always gave him audience in a room without that article of furniture.

* Prince Maurice of Orange declared that a general of an army could scarcely be guilty of a greater fault than that of indulging himself in too much sleep. In him who commands only twenty men, yet greater vigilance is required; for the general has those who always watch for him, whereas the subaltern of a

picquet is himself charged in some measure with the care and safety of the army.

Turenne was pressing hard upon the town of St. Venant. To raise the siege, it was necessary to seize on a convoy, which, under an escort of only three squadrons, was coming to the French army at Bethune. Don Juan of Austria,* general of the Spanish army, and the Marquis of Caracena, who commanded under him, slept every day after dinner in their carriages. The convoy appeared; but such was the rigour of ceremony with respect to persons of their rank, that no one dared to awaken them. The prince de Ligne, who was at the head of the cavalry, foamed with rage; but by the regulations of the Spanish army, it would have cost him his head, if he had dared to make an attack without orders. The convoy reached the French camp in safety; and the generals learnt as soon as they awoke, that after this it was impossible to save the place.

When James the Second, then Duke of York, was serving under these same generals, Don John of Austria and the Marquis of Caracena, at the siege of Ardres in 1657, one of the principal attacks was entrusted to him, and he was shown from the top of the steeple of a neighbouring village the exact spot

* A natural son of Philip IV.

for the operation, which was to gain the covered way by a night attack, and at once commence mining the scarp. Not satisfied with so distant a view, the Duke of York made a closer reconnoissance, and himself directed the attacking column upon the point, under the orders of Lord Muskerry, who effected his lodgment without resistance from the besieged. The duke remained some time to superintend the securing of the lodgment, and went again to the work during the night with his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, to ascertain that matters were going on right. Wonderful as it may seem, when this was told to Caracena, he coldly remarked, "No hacen bien." They are wrong to do so, meaning that they were of too high rank to run any such risk of their persons !

It is not sufficient that the officer does not disgust by his effeminacy ; he ought to encourage and to animate by his example. The soldier, when exposed to every kind of fatigue, and compelled to the hardest duties, bears them with cheerfulness if he sees his officers sharing them with him. In such cases, example effects much more than threats and punishments : he then sees the absolute necessity of labour, and will be ashamed to refuse it : he perceives in his officer a comrade in hardship ; and this consideration, by affecting his heart, augments his confidence, his esteem, and his respect.

It may be remarked here that even the extraordinary devotion of the French army to Napoleon was deeply shaken by his desertion of them at the period of their greatest suffering during the retreat from Moscow. On the other hand, the manner in which Marshal Ney shared every fatigue and danger of those troops, with which for so many days, he covered the retreat, under every possible peril, privation, and hardship, won for him the general attachment and respect of the survivors of that terrible disaster.

During the seven years' war, a young foreigner, wealthy and of distinguished birth, was desirous of making a campaign as a volunteer in the Prussian army, with a view of learning the art of war in the school of the Great Frederick. He appeared there with a superb equipage, a table profusely furnished, and all the other appendages of opulence and luxury. He was soon greatly surprised, however, to see himself treated with very little attention or respect. He was always posted either with the baggage or the hospital, and had even the mortification of not being present at the battle of Rosbach. Finding that the representations, which he caused at different times to be made to the king of Prussia, did not produce any effect, he determined to go himself and state his complaint to his majesty. "Your manner of living in my camp,"

said Frederick to him in reply, "is disgraceful: it is impossible, without economy and self-denial, to support the fatigues and the duties of war; and if you are unable to submit to the discipline of the Prussian armies, I beg you to return speedily to your own country."

Charles Mordant, Earl of Peterborough, who performed such brilliant actions in Spain during the war of the "Succession," was remarkable for his active habits, which were well described in the following verses of Swift:—

TO THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH,

(WHO COMMANDED THE BRITISH FORCES IN SPAIN.)

Mordanto fills the trump of fame,
The Christian worlds his deeds proclaim,
And prints are crowded with his name.

In journeys he outrides the post,
Sits up till midnight with his host,
Talks politics, and gives the toast.

Knows every prince in Europe's face,
Flies like a squib from place to place,
And travels not, but runs a race.

From Paris gazette a-la-main,
This day's arrived, without his train,
Mordanto in a week from Spain.

A messenger comes all a-reck,
Mordanto at Madrid to seek;
He left the town above a week.

Next day the postboy winds his horn,
And rides through Dover in the morn ;
Mordanto's landed from Leghorn.

Mordanto gallops on alone,
The roads are with his followers strewn,
This breaks a girth, and that a bone ;

A skeleton in outward figure,
His meagre corpse, though full of vigour,
Would halt behind him were it bigger.

So wonderful his expedition,
When you have not the least suspicion,
He's with you like an apparition.

Shines in all climates like a star,
In senates bold, and fierce in war ;
A land commander, and a tar.

Heroic actions early bred in,
Ne'er to be match'd in modern reading,
But by his namesake, Charles of Sweden

That martial air which denotes health and vigour,
and a noble and open carriage the token of sincerity,
are the most becoming of all military attire. No-
thing more disgusts a soldier, or is less calculated to
inspire him with confidence in his officer, than to
observe the latter minutely attentive in conceit of
dress, or affecting a light and frivolous manner.
He reasons correctly, in supposing that the officer

who is so much occupied with his personal appearance, must be deficient in more important qualities. Accomplishments so opposite are not to be ordinarily expected in the same character.

✱ Dumets, the most skilful engineer that France could boast before the time of Vauban, was one day at dinner with Lewis the Fourteenth, The dauphiness, who perceived him at the table, said in a low tone to the king, "What an ugly man!" "I think him very handsome," replied the monarch; "for he is one of the bravest men in my kingdom." Dumets was killed at Fleurus. Lewis said to the brother of this officer: "You lose a great deal; but my loss is still greater, by the difficulty I shall meet with in finding his equal."

But without fearing or avoiding hardships, it is the part of common prudence to seek for every reasonable means of fortifying and protecting the body from their results. The employment of an officer obliges him to be abroad at all seasons. Habit, therefore, inures him to many changes which to others would be fatal; but there are precautions to be taken against unhealthy seasons or situations, of which he ought not to be ignorant. The effects produced by the weather on living bodies, principally depend on its degree of heat or cold. Experience, however, has shown, that health may be preserved even

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during considerable extremities of heat or of cold, provided the weather be dry. The combination of heat or cold with moisture, is the chief source of disease.

Simple precautions are often the best. During great heat, considerable protection from the effects of the sun's rays may be obtained by such simple means as placing a folded handkerchief in the top of the schako, or helmet.

Those persons endure heat the best, who drink the least. Thirst may often be allayed, by washing the mouth with water, without swallowing any of it. Innumerable are the examples of death being the immediate consequence of taking a copious draught of cold water, when the body was heated by exercise. To such accidents no class of men are more liable than the military. After a hot and toilsome march, with the mouth parched and full of dust, and the limbs fatigued by exertion, it requires no small effort of steadiness and resolution, to withstand the allurements of a refreshing stream : but let it be remembered that the draught, in such a state, may cause the speedy privation of life. If, however, neither the voice of reason, nor the fatal examples of those who have perished from this cause, are sufficient to produce restraint in drinking a quantity of cold liquor when the body is preternaturally heated, take the following precautions :

1. Grasp the vessel out of which you are about to drink, for a minute or longer, with both your hands ; this will abstract a portion of heat from the body, and at the same time impart it to the cold liquor.

2. If you are not furnished with a cup, and are obliged to drink by bringing your mouth in contact with a stream which issues from a pump or a spring, wash your hands and face previously to your drinking, with a little of the cold water : by receiving the shock of the water first upon those parts of the body, a portion of the heat is conveyed away, and the vital parts are thereby defended (in a small degree) from the action of the cold.

But above all, let every one who values his health, avoid drinking spirits when heated ; this is adding fuel to fire, and is apt to produce the most dangerous inflammatory complaints.

It is extremely dangerous to sleep exposed to the noon-day rays of a scorching sun.

The air of the night, after a very hot day, is often agreeably cold ; it is, however, very dangerous to yield to the pleasing freshness which is produced by being exposed to it.

In our own country, and still more in our North American colonies, the bad effects of cold are far more formidable than those of heat. In intense frost, the limbs should be kept constantly in motion ; and all inclination to stand still or to sleep, steadfastly

resisted; for, in this case, sleep is too often the harbinger of death.

Not a more dangerous error exists, than the notion that the habitual use of spirituous liquors prevents the effects of cold: on the contrary, the truth is, that those who drink most frequently of them, are soonest affected by severe weather. It was a frequent subject of remark among the French generals during the terrible sufferings of the retreat from Moscow, that the Italian troops, who might be naturally supposed the least inured to severe cold, yet endured the march far better than the Germans, from the sole circumstance of their extremely temperate habits, and avoidance of spirituous drink.

If a person, or any part of his body, be benumbed or frost-bitten by extreme cold, it is highly dangerous to expose him suddenly to the heat of a fire; the certain consequence of such indiscretion, is total or partial death. Life is either extinguished by the sudden transition, or some part becomes livid and mortifies. The safest way is to rub the part affected with snow, or to immerse it in water so cold as nearly to freeze, till its natural heat and colour be gradually restored. This is the mode used, and sanctioned by long experience, in Russia: where these accidents are so frequent, that it is a common act of politeness to warn a man of his nose, ear, or

chin, being frost-bitten ; of which he himself is insensible, though the change of colour immediately indicates it to a spectator.

It would be well if military men were more generally impressed with a conviction of the propriety, and even public necessity, of attentions to the preservation of their health, in situations which may be supposed to endanger it. "Health," observes a medical writer of eminence, "is the main spring of action, both in public and private affairs ; it is that, without which all our motions must languish, and our designs become vain. The health of an army must therefore be of equal importance with its existence ; or rather, an army without health is a burden to the state it was intended to serve. In modern times, the issue of a campaign is as frequently determined by sickness, as by battle. In all European armies, more men are sacrificed by disease than by the sword ; and the laurel is at least as often withered on the hero's brow by the pestilential blast of contagion, as torn from it by the nervous arm of strength."

This sentiment, indeed, was long before expressed in a more copious and forcible manner. "The life of a modern soldier," says Johnson, truly, "is ill represented by heroic fiction. War has means of destruction more formidable than the cannon or the

sword. Of the thousands and ten thousands that perished in our contest with France and Spain, terminated by the conquest of Gibraltar, a very small part ever felt the stroke of an enemy. The rest languished in tents and ships, amidst damps and putrefactions, pale, torpid, spiritless, and helpless, gasping and groaning unpitied, among men made obdurate by long continuance of helpless misery ; and were at last whelmed in pits, or heaved into the ocean, without notice and without remembrance. By incommodious encampments and unwholesome stations, where courage is useless and enterprise impracticable, fleets are silently dispeopled, and melted away."

Long-continued rains will produce, in situations naturally dry, the same bad consequences, as result from those which are usually moist ; and of course the same precautions become requisite, to guard against them. The best preventive against the effects of temporary wetting with rain, is to strip entirely ; and after having rubbed the skin dry, to wash the whole surface of the body with pure spirits. This practice is successfully used by the inhabitants of the West India islands, where to be soaked with rain is often attended with fatal consequences. The effects of partial wetting, as of the shoulders or legs, ought to be remedied by a partial treatment of the

same kind, for the strongest constitution is not at all times proof against the chilling tendency of damp clothes.

When encamped in a damp situation, the air of the tent may be improved, by burning some spirits, tobacco, or wetted gunpowder. Habitual tobacco-smoking within tents, is, to many individuals intolerably inconvenient, and noxious; it has also been remarked, that men, who thus constantly smoked, were soonest affected with colds, as well as some other diseases. ¶ The notion that once prevailed, of tobacco preventing contagion, is now ascertained to be false; and if it were otherwise, it would be equally effectual burned in chafers, as when drawn into the lungs.

● Perhaps no general ever paid so much attention to the health of his troops as the Duke of Wellington. His despatches abound in observations, suggestions, and orders, on this all-important subject; and so admirable was the system, eventually established by him, towards the end of the Peninsular war, that the longest marches, the most wretched quarters, and the severest exposure to weather, were endured without half the sickness usually attendant on those trials of the soldier's constitution; and the spirit of the troops, as usually happens, corresponded with their health, and before the close of the war rendered them, as the duke emphatically expressed it in his

evidence before a parliamentary committee, many years afterwards, "an army with which he could have gone anywhere, and done anything that a military body could accomplish."

ESSAY III.

COURAGE AND INTREPIDITY.

● TRUE courage is the result of reflection, of education, of wisdom, and sometimes of misfortune : often of a life exempt from remorse, and passed in the constant habit of good actions ; it is an unfinished gift of nature, which she has left to reason, to perfect, and refine.

The motives of military courage ought to be the love of our duty, the desire of glory, and zeal for our king, and our country. If such are not the springs which actuate courage ; if the brave soldier is not as mild and as humane towards his comrades as he is terrible to the enemy, he is scarcely superior to a wild beast, that should be kept chained, and let loose only on the day of conflict.

● The hypocrite may impose upon the world, by the

exterior of gravity, and may feign a piety which he does not feel; appearances are deceitful, but of all assumed characters, the most difficult to maintain with success, is that of true valour; the trial is so severe, that blusterers and cowards cannot long support it, undiscovered. •

Some men, to strengthen their minds against the fear of death, have endeavoured to persuade themselves that the soul perishes with the body, a deplorable argument, and as false as it is dangerous; for he that expects nothing after death, has every reason to be careful of his life; and this principle is commonly found to influence the conduct of persons of this description. The brave soldier, whose conscience gives him the reasonable hope of a happy immortality, is equally a hero, whether he lives or dies.

It is an erroneous idea, that constitutional fear cannot be conquered, and that, in this respect, it is impossible to alter nature. This may be more or less true, when the passion has taken deep root in a bad or weak mind: but it cannot be doubted that a young man may easily, with the aid of just principles of honour and of virtue, eradicate this weakness from his heart, if the attempt be tried, before it has made any great progress.

There is no one who cannot form a distinction between truth and falsehood, courage and cowardice,

glory and infamy. By shunning whatever is debasing and offensive, and respecting whatever is excellent and useful, nature may be improved and corrected ; vain and idle fears will soon be destroyed, when the voice of honour, and the call of principle, unite to assure us, that death is a thousand times preferable to a dishonourable life.

An enlightened officer in the French service, once avowed with frankness, that he felt himself afraid when called to engage ; but that this mechanical impression did not prevent him from discharging his duty with honour. The same officer being one day commanded to attack a post, was observed to be affected by a nervous tremor, as he marched to the spot. A brother-officer who accompanied him, and who was a great blusterer, affected to be so much offended at his weakness, that he returned to his general, and requested that some other companion might be assigned to him, who would support him in the *coup-de-main* that he was about to undertake, as he feared his present associate would run away from the field of action, " My good sir," said the general, " if you were no more afraid than he, you would not have been here at this moment : ~~return~~ instantly to your post ;—you are in danger of not being there in time, and it is probable that your *poltroon* will take from you the whole honour of the action." This prediction was in fact verified.

Fear is one of the greatest misfortunes that can befall a man. The moment he is impressed with it, objects no longer appear to him in their proper shapes ; he loses his judgment, and is totally incapable of reflection. To reason with him is unavailing, for his apprehensions are more alarming than the danger that menaces him, though perhaps a momentary reflection would emancipate him entirely. Just before the commencement of Lord Rodney's action in the West Indies, in 1782, the captain of one of the seventy-fours observed a young midshipman, apparently much excited, his countenance pale, and his knees almost tottering under him. He took an opportunity, without attracting the attention of others, to beckon the lad to him, and gave him an order to go into his own cabin, and put away some charts and instruments, adding in a whisper, that he had better remain there till he felt himself quite recovered and fit for duty, which he knew he soon would be. The poor boy stammered out his thanks and disappeared ; but scarcely had the first broadside been given, when he rushed on deck, took his post with alacrity, and did his duty during the action, with such spirit and resolution, that he attracted the notice of every one near him, and being shortly afterwards promoted to lieutenant, became distinguished on many occasions, and universally respected as an officer of the highest merit.

The Earl of Peterborough was renowned in his day for his extraordinary intrepidity, but though a vain man in other respects, he was above any vanity on that point. An anecdote is related of him, that, when somebody once complimented him by saying that no one had ever been able to make him afraid, he replied : " Show me a danger that I think real and unavoidable, and you will then see that my fears are like those of other men."

There are many things that appear formidable at a distance, but which, by familiarity and on a nearer approach, cease to be so. Plutarch, in his life of Marius, says, " In objects of terror, the imagination is deceived by their novelty, which often makes things appear what they are not in reality ; while custom, on the contrary, destroys the effect of the most terrible objects, and strips them of that ideal horror in which our fears had arrayed them." In truth, the less our apprehensions are thus awakened, with the greater freedom and composure do we contemplate every object around us ; or, in other words, our judgment is strong, in proportion as our fears are diminished : thus the man of sense ought to live more in dread of fear, than even of danger.

It must be owned, however, in justification of many of our greatest and bravest characters, that nothing is more difficult to regulate, or more inexplicable, in this respect, than the human heart. There are many kinds

of valour, of intrepidity, and of that strength and fortitude of mind, which nothing is able to subdue or to bend : but we rarely find these qualities united in the same person : we observe commonly, that they are distributed in different proportions among men. One will run to meet death with eagerness, who dares not wait for its approach. Another rushes into the battle, and animates others by the bravery of his example, who would tremble at an assault, and turn pale in a trench, where even a soldier's wife is carelessly dealing out liquor to the soldiers. Another, who has looked death in the face in the most terrifying moments of conflict, and has on such occasions preserved the coolest composure of spirits, is seized with dread and apprehension the instant the physician pronounces him to be attacked with a dangerous malady ; while cowards have been often known to meet death in their beds, not only with resignation, but with fortitude. A military historian tells of one of the bravest men he ever knew, hiding himself at the bottom of a cave, trembling with fear at a thunder storm.—So different is the operation of fear on different minds.

This variety will not so much excite our surprise, when we consider, that the strongest mind has its weak and accessible parts : and none will, on every occasion, display that intrepidity, which it is so much our duty to acquire, and which it should be the study

of every one to obtain, as universally as the nature of human infirmity will allow.

Sterne, who was deeply versed in the knowledge of the human heart, gives us in his *Tristram Shandy* (chap. x.) an admirable illustration of the peculiar manner in which habit affects us as to the fear of death.

* * * * *

“ ‘For my own part, I declare it, that out of doors I value not death at all :—not this,’ added the Corporal, snapping his fingers ;—but with an air which no one but the Corporal could have given to the sentiment.—‘ In battle I value death not this . . . and let him not take me cowardly, like poor Joe Gibbons, in scouring his gun.—What is he? A pull of a trigger ;—a push of a bayonet an inch this way or that,—makes the difference.—Look along the line—to the right,—see ! Jack’s down ! Well,—’tis worth a regiment of horse to him.—No ;—’tis Dick.—Then Jack’s no worse.—Never mind which ;—we pass on,—in hot pursuit : the wound itself which brings him is not felt,—the best way is to stand up to him ;—the man who flies, is in ten times more danger than the man who marches up into his jaws.—I’ve looked him,’ added the corporal, ‘ an hundred times in the face,—and know what he is.—He’s nothing, Obadiah, at all in the field.’—‘ But he’s very frightful in a house,’ quoth Obadiah.—‘ I never minded it my-

self,' said Jonathan, 'upon a coach-box.'—'It must, in my opinion, be most natural in bed,' replied Susannah.—'And could I escape him by creeping into the worst calf's skin that ever was made into a knapsack, I would do it there,' said Trim;—'but that is nature.'"

Crillon, whose valour was so celebrated as to acquire him, by eminence, the name of the Brave, was once at Marseilles, when the Duke of Guise, being anxious to put his firmness and intrepidity to the test, caused an alarm to be given in the dead of the night, and immediately afterward, with some young officers, rushed into the chamber of Crillon, who was in a profound sleep. "The enemy is master of the port and of the town," cried the Duke: "I have brought you a horse, that we may escape as quickly as possible." Crillon rose, took up his arms without emotion, and declared he would rather die sword in hand, than survive the loss of the place. He hastened out of his chamber; but hearing the duke and his companions on the staircase, in fits of laughter, he presently discovered the deception. Crillon, upon this, assumed an air more severe and determined than if actually going to battle, and seizing the arm of the Duke of Guise, "Young man," said he, "never trifle with a brave man's courage; if you had found me fail in the present instance, you

should certainly have been the victim of my dishonour."

General Kane, in his memoir of the war in which he served in Flanders, gives a curious instance of panic. It is best to give the whole affair in his own words.

"In the year 1695, as soon as King William had invested Namur, the Prince of Vaudemont was directed to retreat before Villeroy, from Menin to the neighbourhood of Ghent, in order to draw him off from interrupting the siege of Namur. He effected this retreat with great skill and success, and retiring past the works of Ghent, crossed the canal between Ghent and Bruges, and there made his stand.

"Villeroy marched immediately down to the canal, where, for upwards of three weeks, by marches and countermarches, he harassed our small army off their legs; however, he could not make the least movement, or form any design, but the Prince had timely notice of it; which was very surprising, if we consider the canal that was between us, so that the French said he dealt with the devil. Villeroy, finding he could not pass the canal on the Prince, at length turned towards Dixmude, where the Prince could give no manner of assistance; here he succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations.

"Major-General Ellinburg, a Dane, who by his personal courage and merit had raised himself from

a private sentinel to be a Major-General in the Danish service, and was particularly recommended to the King by the Duke of Wirtemberg, who commanded the Danish forces, as a gallant, and experienced, officer, was governor of the place. But his behaviour here, surprised all that had ever known him; for as soon as Villeroy appeared, he called all the Commanding officers together, and proposed sending to Villeroy to capitulate; to which they all agreed, except the Commander of the dragoons, who exclaimed heavily against it. However, he being but one, an officer was sent to Villeroy to demand a capitulation, who little expected so sudden a message; he thereupon told the officer he would allow them no other terms than that of prisoners of war; and withal let them know that if they fired one shot at him, he would put every soul of them to the sword; and as soon as the officer left him, he advanced with the army, and at once fell to breaking ground. Ellinburg having, before the officers went out, given orders that not a gun should be fired, upon his return, they basely surrendered on those scandalous terms. It is true, the fortifications were but indifferent; however, such a noble body of troops as eight battalions, and well provided as they were, might very well have held it out, till a lodgment had been made in the counterscarp, which they could not have done in less than eight or ten

days, after which they might have been sure of having at least as good, if not better terms.

“ Nothing more was done this campaign, both armies going early into quarters ; and soon after the garrisons of Dixmude and Deynse were released, upon which the king ordered a general Court-martial to be held at Ghent for trying the commanding officers of those garrisons.

“ Major-General Ellinburg said but little in his defence, but frankly owned, that from the very moment he received orders for that command, a panic seized him, which he could not get over, nor account for.

“ The commanding officers of the regiments urged in their defence, that, as they were under the command of the Major-General, they thought themselves obliged to obey. This pretence had but little weight with the Court-martial, as appears by their sentence, which was, that Major-General Ellinburg should have his head cut off by the common executioner of the Danish forces, and all the Commanding officers that signed the capitulation should be broke, and rendered incapable of ever serving the crown of England more ; but they recommended the Commanding officer of the dragoons to his majesty for preferment.”

There is a difference between reflecting courage, and that impetuosity which stimulates the bulk of the soldiery, and carries them to a breach, not only

without repugnance, but with alacrity. The crowd among which they find themselves engaged, excites in their breasts that bravery which animates and sustains them : they see many of their comrades fall, it is true ; but they see a larger number survive ; they have frequently escaped the greatest perils, and they hope to escape this also ; dangers, besides, that are so soon over, are not to be put into competition with the glory of a victory, the luxury of good quarters, and a succession of new scenes and extraordinary adventures with which they are incessantly flattering themselves : such are the feelings that influence the mass of an army.

Those who are destined to command, must, however, risk life on a different principle. Knowing that they must one day part with it, they must reckon it glorious and useful to hazard it for the public good ; they must feel that they are placed in the post which Providence designed for them, and resolve to discharge the duties of it.

Without such a spirit of resignation, no man will attempt anything glorious : but when once arrived at this point, the attractions of a life passed amidst the fatigues and the activities of war, appear as great as any other scenes can supply.

It was a noble reply of the illustrious Condé, when asked, after a battle in which he had performed prodigies of valour, whether, in the course of the en-

gement, he had once thought of death : “ I have learnt from the history of my ancestors, that the most glorious life is that which is terminated at the gaining of a victory ; and that as we possess this jewel but for a short period, we ought to render it as brilliant as possible.”

There are some men, however, in whom courage is found to arise from a total want of perception. Such is the effect of this, that they look upon death with perfect indifference ; and lose nothing of their coolness in the most desperate actions, and in the greatest dangers. The Chevalier de Fourilles, a lieutenant-general under the great Condé, receiving a wound which proved mortal, at the battle of Seneff, in 1674, cried out : “ I wish from my soul I could live another hour, to see how this butcher” (meaning the young Prince of Orange) “ will finish the business.”

Dr. Johnson, who, though no military man himself, was well qualified by his wisdom and acuteness to form a just estimate of the character of his nation, and of the spirit of the English soldiery, has left us a very curious record of that spirit as it appeared to him in his day ; the more curious from the entire alteration which has since taken place in the discipline of our armies, and the respect and devotion of the British soldier of the present day to his officer.

“ By those who have compared the military genius of the English with that of the French na-

tion," says that celebrated moralist, "it is remarked, that the French officers will always lead, if the soldiers will follow, and the English soldiers will always follow if their officers will lead.

"In all pointed sentences, some degree of accuracy must be sacrificed to conciseness; and in this comparison, our officers seem to lose what our soldiers gain; yet who can suppose that the English officers are less willing than the French to lead? but it is universally allowed, that the English soldiers are more willing to follow. Our nation may boast, beyond any other people in the world, of a kind of epidemic bravery, diffused equally through all its ranks. We can show a peasantry of heroes; and fill our armies with clowns, whose courage may vie with that of their general.

"There may be some pleasure in tracing the causes of this plebeian magnanimity. The qualities which commonly make an army formidable, are long habits of regularity, great exactness of discipline, and entire confidence in the commander. Regularity may, in time, produce a kind of mechanical obedience to signals and commands, like that which the perverse Cartesians impute to animals: discipline may impress such an awe upon the mind, that any danger shall be dreaded less than the danger of punishment; and confidence in the wisdom or for-

tune of the general, may induce the soldiers to follow him blindly to the most dangerous enterprise.

“ What can be done by discipline and regularity, may be seen in the troops of the Russian and Prussian monarchs. We find that they may be broken without confusion, and repulsed without flight. But the English troops have none of these requisites in any eminent degree. Regularity is by no means part of their character : they neither are thought by others, nor by themselves, more active or exact than their enemies ; and therefore derive none of their courage from such imaginary superiority. The manner in which they are dispersed in quarters over the country, during times of peace, naturally produces laxity of discipline : they are very* little in sight of their officers ; and when they are not engaged in the slight duty of the guard, are suffered to live every man his own way.*

* To any modern reader who is at all acquainted with the perfect discipline of the British army of these days, and is aware of the diligence with which officers of all ranks attend to the conduct and management of the men under their command, these remarks of Dr. Johnson must indeed seem strange ; but nevertheless it cannot be doubted that in those times (the early years of George the Third's reign) there did prevail all the laxity and neglect to which he alludes, nor was it entirely remedied till a master-hand re-organized the system of our army in the severe school of the warfare of the Peninsula.

“ There are some, perhaps, who would imagine that every Englishman fights better than the subjects of absolute governments, because he has more to defend. But what has the English soldier more than the French soldier? Property they are both commonly without. Liberty is, to the lowest rank of every nation, little more than the choice of working or starving: and this choice is, I suppose, equally allowed in every country. The English soldier seldom has his head full of the Constitution: nor has there been, for more than a century, any war that put the property or liberty of a single Englishman in danger.*

“ Whence, then, is the courage of the English vulgar? It proceeds, in my opinion, from that dissolution of dependance which obliges every man to regard his own character. While every man is fed by his own hands, he has no need of any servile arts: he may always have wages for his labour; and is no less necessary to his employer, than his employer is to him. While he looks for no protection from others, he is naturally roused to be his own protector; and having nothing to abate his esteem of himself, he consequently aspires to the esteem of others. Thus every man that crowds our streets is a man of honour, disdainful of obligation, impatient of reproach, and desirous of extending his reputa-

* This was written before the American war.

tion among those of his own rank ; and as courage is in most frequent use, the fame of courage is most eagerly pursued. From this neglect of subordination, I do not deny that some inconveniences may from time to time proceed ; the power of the law does not always sufficiently supply the want of reverence, or maintain the proper distinction between different ranks : but good and evil will grow up in this world together ; and they who complain, in peace, of the insolence of the populace, must remember that their insolence in peace, is bravery in war."

The example of intrepid resolution in a Commander, will never fail of having its due influence on the officers under him. The siege of Belgrade, in the year 1789, was conducted by the celebrated field-marshal Laudon, in a manner worthy of that great general. He ordered the first parallel to be opened at the distance of only 100 yards from the glacis,* and all the generals under his orders to meet him there. On their being assembled, he addressed them to the following effect :—" My friends, here is the spot where we must either conquer or die. From

* Parallels are the trenches or lines made *parallel* to the defence of the place besieged ; or rather, perhaps, so named from being *parallel* to each other. The first parallel is generally dug at the distance of 600 yards from the place, that distance being beyond the range of musketry and grape-shot, and difficult to reach by a *sortie* from the Garrison.

this spot I shall not retreat. I shall exert my utmost efforts to attain the proposed end, but I also desire that every one will do his duty. I wish you all to prepare for victory or death, and to consider that none of us were born not to die."

In a council of war, just before the memorable battle of Rocroi took place,* the Prince of Condé, descanting on the advantages of possessing the town, was asked by one of his generals, "What will become of us if we lose it?"—"I do not consider that," replied the prince; "I shall die before that happens."

The intrepid man neither hates life, nor contemns death; but is on all occasions resolved to sacrifice every consideration to that of his duty. Many of the bravest warriors have displayed the same heroism in submitting to death when it became unavoidable, as in surmounting on other occasions the dangers which had threatened it.

The Chevalier Bayard has always been cited as a model of intrepidity and resolution. In the war between the French and Spaniards in 1503, a body of five thousand French crossing the river Garigliano, attacked the Spanish camp, which they would probably have forced had they been supported; but Gonsalvo, surnamed the Great Captain, after a furious contest, drove them out of his intrenchments; and in spite of

* In 1643.

their artillery, compelled them to re-cross the bridge, after sustaining a very severe loss. On this occasion the brave Bayard, "the knight without fear or reproach," (as he was surnamed,) is said to have alone withstood two hundred Spaniards, who pressed after him, at the barrier of the bridge; till his horse falling with him, he was taken prisoner, but quickly rescued by the exertions of his men;—an action vying in splendour with the individual exploits of the heroic ages of Rome.

Intrepidity is not that rashness which makes us blindly run to meet death: a fatal madness, a headstrong passion, which renders us indifferent to danger, only as it deprives us of the knowledge of it: a disposition like this, far from being desirable to an officer, tends perpetually to expose the troops under his command. Intrepidity is that species of enlightened heroism which preserves us free and composed amidst the greatest dangers, and which advances with steady confidence to the execution of the most arduous enterprises, such as to common minds, influenced by a less confirmed principle, would appear insurmountable. It may be remarked, too, that this great faculty accomplishes its purposes less by strength and by numbers, than by the resources which a man of courage and of genius always finds within his own breast.

The Duke of Anjou, afterward Henry the Third of France, besieged Rochelle, the bulwark of the Calvinists. Near the counterscarp was a mill, which the besieged had not had time to fortify: they threw in a handful of troops in the day, and at night commonly withdrew this small garrison, leaving behind only one man. The duke made the necessary dispositions for carrying this post: and advanced by moonlight, with a small detachment and two culverins, for this purpose. A single soldier had the guard this night, and on him the whole defence depended. This brave man remained firm and undismayed; he kept up, alone, a continued fire upon the assailants; and by varying the tones of his voice, made them suppose that the besieged were in considerable numbers. From the ramparts of the town, the besieged called out to encourage this surprising commandant; they pretended to exhort the garrison to remain firm, and assured them of immediate succours: till at length the soldier, seeing his little post on the point of being carried, asked quarter for his comrades, which was instantly granted; he then laid down his arms, and discovered the whole garrison in his own person.

The remark of Livy, that certain enterprises which at first savour of temerity, are in reality only daring, is often correctly true.—An officer once repre-

sented to Gassion the insurmountable difficulties of an object he was ordered to undertake : " I have in my head, and I carry at my side," answered this general,| " what is more than sufficient to overcome this alleged impossibility."

Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, found himself in a perilous situation before the battle of Torgaw. The fate of himself and of his army was at stake. His great spirit gave way to melancholy presentiments: and he hesitated, for the first time, on the part he had to act. Undetermined whether he should incur this desperate risk, he held a conference with his Generals, in Zieten's presence. Depressed by apprehension rather than encouraged by hope, he imparted his doubts and surmises, and in this manner impressed them with the like sentiments. How indeed should they have ventured to recommend what the King's own courage had not already suggested, or take upon themselves a responsibility which he seemed inclined to charge them with in case of ill success? They kept profound silence: Zieten alone thought proper to break it. " Everything is possible, sire,"⁴ said he: " it is our business to triumph over difficulties." These few words decided Frederick, and the battle was instantly resolved upon.

What constitutes indiscretion and temerity in an officer, is when, being at liberty to accept or reject an enterprise of great difficulty and danger, he yields to

it simply from a vain desire of glory : but when he sees himself equally pressed by danger on all hands, whether he execute his project or abandon it, he ought to make choice of that course which appears to him the most honourable, to attain the end in view.

Peri, an officer of high reputation, in Frederick's service, defended the town of Haguenau against the Imperialists with great bravery. He saw with regret that he was not in a situation to maintain an assault, and he was on the point of yielding to the conqueror. He was in this perplexity, when an officer of his garrison, who knew the country perfectly, as well as the position of the enemy, proposed to him to force a causeway, which they had left ill-guarded from the persuasion of their security on that side. The commandant highly approved the suggestion, and adopted it instantly ; but to sound the disposition of his inferior officers, as well as to conceal more effectually his design, he called a council of war, and declared to them that he was willing, if necessary, to perish in a last attack : " There is no doubt," added he, " that you are all of my mind ;" and he gave immediate orders for making the necessary preparations. This address of the governor surprised those who were assembled, and was very generally censured ; he then dismissed the council, except one officer,

who alone had applauded the desperate resolution which he had proposed. To this officer he confided his real intention, and entrusted him with the charge of the rear-guard. Night was thought most proper for the execution of this daring enterprise. The troops were put under arms in the different quarters of the town, on pretext of the extremity of their situation. Leaving a few gunners on the side where the breach had been made, the garrison marched out in profound silence, meeting no obstacle of any kind; and reached in safety the place of their destination. The officer charged with the rear-guard, taking the route of the wood, retired with equal good fortune, and by this bold resolution Peri saved his whole garrison.

Many a commander, on finding himself surprised and surrounded, will, if he be of an ordinary character, probably decide that one corps cannot maintain a conflict against ten, and will without hesitation surrender. The man of genius and true valour will often calculate otherwise. He knows that if he is able to force the line of the troops that surround him, he can run as fast as they, and thus at least possesses the chance of an escape. He instantly perceives, that on whatever side he attempts to break through, he will no where find a force equal to his own: consequently he will at that spot be on as good a footing as his enemy, since

it is impossible that the whole force which surrounds him can be immediately concentrated on the point which he may attempt to penetrate ; and he will have one great advantage, in the surprise and astonishment that his resolution will excite among his adversaries. It is extremely probable that he will have pierced their line and made some progress in his retreat, before they have sufficiently recovered themselves to be able to act with effect against him.

In the war of 1704, in Italy, fifty of the Spanish cavalry found themselves surrounded by a body of between six and seven hundred of the Imperialists. The Spanish officer saw no resource but in one desperate resolution. Trusting to the valour of his troops, and the excellence of his horses, he ordered them to form and advance. In an instant, he fell upon the Germans sword in hand, cut his way through, and left the enemy in astonishment at the boldness of the enterprise.

Another Spanish officer of the same army, at the head of a hundred horse, penetrated and overthrew a German battalion which had been renowned for its bravery and discipline. He even returned to the charge, and again passed through the battalion, leaving them in amazement at his intrepidity. In the first instance, the necessity of the case would have stamped the exploit with the character of heroism ; and even

if it had not succeeded, the officer would have still acquired honour by the attempt. In the second he discovered only temerity ; and if he had been worsted, the disgrace of the defeat would have tarnished the glory which he had just acquired.

It is related of a captain of Swedish cavalry, named Elsburg, of the regiment of Creutz, that in the Seven Years' war he supported, with his single company, a long and doubtful contest, on the banks of the Vistula, against twenty-eight companies of Poles, supported by two hundred German dragoons. Having taken post in a churchyard, he there defended himself with so much bravery, that the assailants were obliged to throw a body of men into the adjoining houses in order to fire upon him. Elsburg made a vigorous sortie, rushed into the midst of the Poles, burnt the houses from which they had fired upon his company, then returned to the churchyard, which he obliged the enemy to abandon, and thus maintained the conflict without intermission, for nine hours, till rescued by a detachment sent to his aid.

In the war between Austria and the Porte, which terminated by the peace of Sistova in 1791, Agria, a town only surrounded by an old flanked wall, having a few towers without bastions, was attacked by sixty thousand Turks. This force could not terrify two thousand Hungarians who had shut themselves up in the place with their wives, children, and ef-

fects. They had all sworn to suffer to the last extremity, and even, if their provisions should fail, to live upon the dead animals in the place, rather than surrender. The provisions were brought to the public stores, in order that, the whole being appropriated for common use, it might inspire a general ardour. The men were to resist the efforts of the besiegers, [and the women to repair the breaches. During forty days, the Turks kept up a continual fire from the batteries. Though a part of the wall, and almost all the towers, were beaten down by the enemy's cannon, the besieged continued to defend themselves with the same firmness. They were summoned to surrender; but they only replied by showing a coffin upon one of the battlements, intimating that they preferred death to any terms. The Turks tried to storm the place three times in one day, and were repulsed with the loss of a thousand men. The besieged, in proportion to the reiterated attacks, opposed a more vigorous defence. Such acts of heroism chilling at last the courage of the besiegers, they abandoned the undertaking; but their rear was briskly charged in the retreat, and the principal part of their baggage taken.

The indifference of the Turks at the approach of death has always been remarkable. When Solymán the Magnificent had determined on the death of Achmet the Grand Vizir, the executioner suddenly

presented himself, just as that Officer was opening the public sitting of the divan. Achmet, apparently unmoved, descended from his place, and said he was ready to die ; then looking around him among the most faithful of his attendants, he made it his last and urgent request to one of them, to whom he had been a great benefactor, that he would himself apply the fatal bow-string to his neck, and so spare him the dishonour of dying by the hand of an executioner. By strong entreaties he prevailed on his reluctant friend to undertake this terrible trial of self-devotion ; strange to add, he desired him not to conclude his fearful task at once, but after drawing the noose, to relax it for one last breath, before he finally put an end to his life, as if he actually desired to taste of death before entirely quitting his existence. This injunction was strictly fulfilled, and Busbequius, the imperial ambassador, who details this extraordinary fact in his letters, states that he maintained his undaunted spirit till the very last moment of his agony.

Sobieski, having penetrated into Moravia, appeared before the fortress of Nemeetz. The place had been abandoned ; but, at this juncture, a small band of Moravian chasseurs, consisting of no more than eighteen, had been by accident attracted thither. These brave men drew up the bridges, shut the gates, and peremptorily refused to surrender. The

Poles, who were ignorant both of the number and state of the garrison, cannonaded the place during four days, but the Chasseurs defended themselves with vigour, killed a vast number of the besiegers, and among others the principal officer of artillery. The fifth day, finding ten of their comrades dead, and three disabled, they capitulated and obtained permission for the garrison to withdraw to whatever place they chose. The gate was then opened, and discovered six men marching out, with three others borne upon their shoulders. Sobieski turned pale at this sight, and his first sentiment was unworthy of him;—he determined to hang these brave men, and gave orders for that purpose; but fortunately for his honour, being reminded of his engagement, he released them, and dismissed them unhurt.

Count Saxe, who afterwards commanded the armies of France with such glory, happened, in the year 1705, to be at the city of Lemberg, waiting for an escort to accompany him to Warsaw, where the Court then was. Having learnt that there was a truce between the Saxon troops and the Confederates, he wished to avail himself of this interval; and, toward the end of January, quitted the place, with a few officers and men. He stopped at a small inn at the village of Craknitz, with an intention of passing the night: not being aware that the truce had been broken,

and that the Polanders were informed of his departure, and intended to carry him off, for which purpose they sent to this village eight hundred cavalry : expecting also to find there Marshal Count Fleming, who had taken the same route.

Count Saxe was about to seat himself at table, when he was informed that a number of horsemen had entered the village, and that they appeared to be advancing toward the house where he then was. On receiving this intelligence, he instantly made the necessary dispositions for his defence. Seeing that it was not possible to guard, with only eighteen persons, the whole of the premises, which were somewhat scattered, he abandoned the court and ground-floor, and betook himself to the upper part of the house, placing two or three men in each chamber, with orders to cut holes in the floors, that they might be able to fire upon whoever should enter below ; and finding that he could afford some relief to those in the house by means of the stable, he posted himself in the latter spot with the rest of his people.

These dispositions were scarcely made when the attack commenced. The doors of the ground-floor were first forced open ; but the rooms being all low, the count's people were able to direct their fire with certainty, and accordingly, every one of those who first entered was instantly killed. The Polanders,

supposing this part of the house full of the Count's followers, and thinking the upper stories might be forced with less difficulty, abandoned this quarter, and scaled the windows of the chambers which they discovered to be empty, in order by this means to come at those which were guarded. This manœuvre embarrassed the Count, but it was impossible to prevent it; he suffered them, however, to ascend, and he then resolved to mount himself, and enter the chambers after them, sword in hand, accompanied by a few brave officers; thus hoping to astonish the enemy by a vigorous attack, which might in all probability produce the greatest effect in the middle of a dark night,—a time when courage supplies the place of numbers, which are then always thought greater than they are in reality. A musket-shot which the Count received in his thigh did not prevent him from making this attack. He threw himself into the first chamber, which was already filled with the enemy; all of them who did not escape by the windows were immediately put to the sword. The Polanders made a second attempt, which succeeded no better, and they were compelled to retire. They then determined to blockade the house till daylight. The Count instantly perceived their design, and while he was meditating the means of escape, an officer advanced to summon him to surrender; threatening, in case of refusal, to

set fire not only to the house, but to the whole village. He ordered the officer to retire ; and, on his refusing to do so, fired on him, and killed him on the spot. The Polanders sent a Dominican friar with a second summons, who met with a similar fate.*

The Count then assembling his people : “ You see,” said he, “ that we can hope for no quarter. To save our lives, therefore, we must force our way through the enemy sword in hand. They are dispersed in small posts ; the bulk of their force is at a distance ; let us avail ourselves of the darkness, to gain the woods which lie contiguous to the village. If we should fall in with one of their outposts, we must instantly put them to the sword. Let us depart at once.” They then left the house, to the number of fourteen persons, but had proceeded a very short distance, before they found one of the enemy’s guard ; who, thinking himself secure from all alarm, had composed himself to sleep. How indeed could it have been supposed that such a handful of men would take a resolution so daring ? Nothing surely but that ardent attachment to life which is inherent in the breast of every one, could prompt so desperate a measure. The count’s people dispatched the

* It is to be hoped that this barbarous and unworthy act, so unlike the generous and noble character of Mareshal de Saxe, arose from some mistake of his orders.

sleeping man before he could utter a word ; and afterward proceeded in safety to Sendomir, where they found a Saxon garrison.

Soon after the battle of Mollwitz, fought in April 1741, the King of Prussia ordered one of his generals, with a body of men, to observe the position of the enemy. On his way he met a detachment of some hundred hussars, whom he attacked and dispersed. Having pursued them to the entrance of a defile, and perceiving that they halted and faced about, he halted likewise, and suffered their skirmishers to harass him considerably. Zieten, who was in the detachment, equally enraged at the sudden inactivity of his commander and at the audacity of the Austrians, was no longer able to contain himself. He pushed forward, and cried out, "Colonel, will you not put these fellows to flight?"—"Why don't you do it yourself," answered the other, "since you are so bold? Are you not at the head of your squadron?"—"With all my heart," said Zieten, "provided you will support me." At the same moment he gave the word to march, and falling on the enemy, drove them into the defile, and pursued them far beyond it, fully persuaded that the Colonel had kept the position in which he had left him. At length, perceiving reinforcements pouring in on every side against him, he began to think of making a retreat ; and conceived he had nothing to risk, as he de-

pended on finding the Colonel at the entrance of the defile. That officer, however, was no longer there, having basely retired to a neighbouring village, without feeling the least concern for Zieten, or the squadron under his orders. The latter, being now sensible of his commander's perfidy and his own danger, was indebted for his safety to his presence of mind and intrepidity. He called back his skirmishers, closed the ranks, and while a part of his squadron passed the defile, charged the enemy (who had not yet formed their forces) at the head of the rest, and gained sufficient time and ground to make good his retreat. It is worthy of remark, that he did not lose a single man, and carried off every one of the prisoners he had taken.

Margaret de Valois, having encamped her little army before Villeneuve, ordered a party of her soldiers to carry Cieutat under the walls of the town, and put him to death if his son, who commanded in that place, did not open the gates to her. The father, hearing this cruel alternative offered to his son, exclaimed loudly, "Think on the duty which you owe to God and your sovereign. If I were capable of advising you to give up the place you are entrusted to keep, I should be a traitor and a coward, and an enemy to your honour." The guards, on hearing this, were ready to perform the cruel orders which they had received, when young Cieutat waved

his hand to them : the gate was opened ; he rushed out with three or four persons, and pretended to parley with the soldiers : then drawing his sword with great fury, fell upon those who were holding their naked weapons over his father's head ; and being seconded by his garrison, put them to flight, and returned into the town, taking his father with him.

Nor is it in great and brilliant emergencies alone that intrepidity can be discovered. The temper and disposition of mind which produces and accompanies this virtue, may be exercised indifferently on occasions of inferior or of striking importance, and by characters the most humble or the most exalted.—David Gam, a Welsh captain, sent by Henry the Fifth to reconnoitre the French army before the battle of Agincourt, (when their force amounted to more than six times that of the English,) reported only “ that there were enough to be killed, enough to be taken prisoners, and enough to run away.”—Charles the Twelfth, at the siege of Copenhagen, (his first military operation,) hearing a general discharge of muskets loaded with ball, asked one of his officers what the whistling that he heard meant ? “ It is the noise of bullets,” said the officer, “ which are fired against your majesty.” “ Very well,” replied the king, “ this shall henceforth be my music.”

George the Second, of England, coming one day

to the council later than usual, during the rebellion of 1745, and having asked the subject of their deliberations, was told that they had been taking measures to ensure the safety of his majesty's person. "Take care of *yourselves*, gentlemen," replied the king; "as for me, I am determined to die king of England!"

The British and American armies being near each other in the neighbourhood of Germantown, five Hessian soldiers, who had straggled into the woods and lost their way, were met by an Irishman who was a private in the American army. He immediately presented his piece, and ordered them to surrender; and they, surprised by his intrepidity, and supposing that he must certainly be supported by a party, threw down their arms.

In the German war, of 1743, an English drummer having wandered from his camp, and approaching too near to the enemy's lines, was seized and brought before the French commander, on suspicion of being a spy disguised in a drummer's uniform. On being asked by the General who he was, he answered, "A drummer in the English service." This not being believed, a drum was sent for, and he was desired to beat a march; which he accordingly did, to remove the Frenchman's suspicion. He was then told to beat a retreat. "A retreat!" said he; "there is no such beat known in the English

service.” The French officer was so well pleased with this reply, that he dismissed his prisoner, and wrote to his General, commending his intrepid behaviour.

ESSAY IV.

ON FIRMNESS.

FIRMNESS, that first effect of greatness of soul, is a quality which directs and sustains us in the most trying situations of our lives ; it enables us to look unmoved upon scenes the most critical, and on death itself.

When an attempt was once made to hinder Pompey from embarking during a violent tempest ; “ It is necessary,” said he, “ that I should depart ; but it is not necessary that I should live.”

In the year 1766, Prince Eugene, having made himself master of the city of Milan, sent a summons to the Marquis De la Floride, commandant of the citadel, threatening to refuse him all quarter if he did not surrender in four-and twenty hours. “ I have defended,” answered this intrepid warrior,

“twenty-four places for the kings of Spain my masters, and I shall be proud to lose my life in the breach of the twenty-fifth.”

But it is not sufficient that an officer be firm and intrepid in presence of the enemy ; there are occasions in which fortitude is yet more necessary, and may acquire him greater credit ; these are in councils of war, and in cases of deliberation on the safety of a town, a corps, and sometimes of an army. It may perhaps require the firmness of only a single resolute character, in an assembly entertaining a multitude of discordant opinions, to preserve a State from the disgrace into which their imprudent counsel is about to plunge it.

The Turks, having made themselves masters of Sbarras, laid siege to Trembaulta. The nobility residing in the environs, who had taken refuge in the fortress, seeing the imminence of the danger, and being ignorant of the succours which were approaching, communicated their fears to the garrison, and determined to deliver up the place. The wife of the governor, having privately heard the resolution they had just taken, went to the breach, to inform her husband of what had passed. Chrosonowski instantly flew to the council. “It is yet uncertain,” said he, “whether the enemy will master us ; but this is certain, that if you persist in your dastardly resolution, I will burn every one of

you alive in this hall. The soldiers are at this moment at the doors, and the torches lighted, ready to execute my orders." This firmness had the desired effect, and they continued to defend themselves with the utmost fortitude. The Turks, on their side, redoubled their efforts. Repulsed in four assaults, they were now meditating a fifth. Chrosonowski himself appeared alarmed; when his wife, mistaking this disquietude for weakness, presented to him two poniards: "If thou surrenderest," said she to him fiercely, "one of these shall be against thy life, and the other against my own." At that instant the advance guard of the Polish army arrived in view, and compelled the raising of the siege.

The bloody defeat of the Romans at Cannæ, threw the city of Rome into the deepest consternation and despair. Scipio learnt that a great number of citizens of the first rank, and many of the senators, who had escaped the chains of the Carthaginians, were assembled under one Metullus, and had formed the design of abandoning not only the town, but Italy. He hastened to the spot, followed by a few friends. On entering the assembly, he drew his sword: "I swear," said he, "that I will never abandon the republic, nor will suffer any of its citizens to abandon it." Then addressing himself to the master of the house where they were assembled: "It is necessary that you, and all those now here,

take the same oath, or I will put every one of you to death." To this firmness of Scipio, Rome and Italy owed their safety.

Holland, under circumstances as deplorable, was equally indebted to the firmness of two of its citizens. Louis XIV. had made himself master of Naarden, Voorden, and Oudewater. The rapidity of his conquests, his near approach, and the impossibility of receiving succours, determined the magistrates of Amsterdam to send the keys to the conqueror. Hope, grand pensionary of the city, and Hasler, chief bailiff, strongly remonstrated against this advice, but their remonstrances were vain, fear having seized all the other magistrates. In this extremity these two heroic citizens opened a window which looked upon a square adjoining the hall, and threatened to call in the populace instantly, if they did not alter their resolution. The certainty of being immediately torn to pieces, made so powerful an impression on the magistrates, that they gave up their first intention, and began to take every measure for the security of the place.

General Burgoyne was posted in Portugal in 1762, with six thousand British and some Portuguese troops, on the banks of the Tagus, to dispute the passage of that river with the whole Spanish army. The Count De Lippe, generalissimo of all the forces and auxiliaries of Portugal, found it of so

much importance to throw every possible obstacle in the way of the invaders, that he sent orders to Burgoyne to defend the pass to the last man. If, however, he found it impossible to withstand the Spaniards, he was to abandon to them his camp, his artillery, and provisions, except as much of the latter as his men could carry at their backs, and retreat as slowly as he could do to the mountains on his left, whence he was to join the main army in small detachments. The Count accompanied the order with these words : " I know to how severe a trial I expose the feelings of a gallant officer, when I order him to abandon his camp to the enemy ; but the nature of the service requires such a sacrifice. Do you execute the orders ; I will take the measure on myself, and justify you in the sight of the world."

During his wars in Spain, Scipio was seized with illness ; and rumour declared his sickness much more dangerous than it was in reality. The whole province of Spain, and especially the most distant quarters, were filled with trouble and confusion in consequence of this news. The allies became unfaithful, and the soldiers seditious. Mandonius and Indibilis, (two Spanish princes,) having caused their subjects and a great number of Celtiberians to take arms, made excursions into the territories of the allies of the Roman people. But the most serious circum-

stance of this revolt was, that even the citizens themselves forgot their duty to their country. Near Sucro there was a body of eight thousand Romans, who had been encamped there in order to awe the people on that side of the Iberus. These troops had been for some time discontented with the duties imposed on them. Long repose, as usually happens, had produced licentiousness. Accustomed, during war, to live at large in the enemy's country, they suffered themselves with great reluctance to be kept within bounds in time of peace. At first they only murmured in secret. "If there be still any enemies in the province," said these soldiers, "why do they keep us in a country at peace, where we remain in a state of inaction? Or if the war be terminated, why do not they let us return to Italy?" The news of Scipio's sickness, followed immediately by the report of his death, encouraged their disaffection, and they demanded their pay with insolence. When on guard, they insulted the tribunes as they walked the rounds; and many went out to plunder in the neighbouring villages, whose inhabitants were allies of the Romans. Even in open day, and without regard to orders, they quitted their standards, and went where they pleased, without asking permission of their officers.

They still, however, retained an appearance of a Roman camp, solely with the hope of rendering

their Tribunes the accomplices of their sedition and disorder. But when, after various trials, they found that to be impossible, they drove the officers out of the camp, and unanimously transferred the command to two private soldiers, the authors of the sedition. These men did not content themselves with the ensigns of legionary Tribunes ; they had the insolence to assume the marks of supreme power, and to cause the rods and axes to be carried before them ; without considering that these terrible symbols of justice, which they employed for keeping others in awe, would probably be the instruments of the punishment their crime had deserved.

The mutineers every moment expected messengers with the news of Scipio's funeral. But several days having passed without any confirmation of the report of his death, they began to inquire for the first authors of it ; every one shifting it from himself, and choosing rather to seem to have believed the news too lightly, than to have invented it. It was then that the ringleaders of the mutiny, seeing themselves no longer supported with the same ardour as formerly, began to look on the fasces with terror, and to tremble at the thought of a lawful authority, ready to fall on them with the whole weight of its just indignation.

The sedition was now, if not extinguished, at least greatly damped, when certain advice was brought,

first that Scipio was alive, and next that he was absolutely out of danger. Soon after seven Legionary Tribunes, sent by Scipio, arrived in the camp. The sight of these officers at first incensed the soldiers ; but their calm and prudent behaviour, attended with an air of kindness and good will, soon restored quiet. They mixed themselves with the knots of soldiers discoursing together, and shared in the conversation ; and without reproaching them for their past conduct, seemed chiefly desirous to be informed of the real occasion of their discontents. The soldiers complained of not having been paid on the fixed days, an injustice they declared they had but little deserved, since it was by their valour the glory of the Roman name had been preserved, as well as the possession of the Province, which the death of the father and uncle of Scipio, and the defeat of their armies, had exposed to the utmost danger. The Tribunes replied, that it was right they should have satisfaction, and that Scipio and the Commonwealth were both able and willing to bestow on their services and valour the rewards which they had merited, and having thus brought matters to a temporary settlement, they reported to the General the tranquillized and altered state of the mutineers' camp.

Scipio was never at a loss when the question was to make war ; but having never before experienced a sedition, he did not well know how to act on the present occasion. He resolved to adopt a middle

course, and neither to let the mutineers escape with perfect impunity, nor yet to inflict on them all too severe a punishment. To carry out his plans, he sent to the tributary cities the public officers who collected the revenues of the commonwealth ; and this gave the mutinous soldiers hopes that they should immediately be paid their arrears. Some days after, he published a decree, by which the soldiers were commanded to come to Carthage, to receive their pay, separately, by companies, or all together, if they chose it. They thought it most prudent to embrace the latter method. When they arrived in the neighbourhood of Carthage, they were informed that all the troops Scipio had in that city, were preparing to set out, under the conduct of Silanus, in order to reduce the revolted Spaniards. This news not only delivered them from the dread and anxiety which the remembrance of their crimes gave them, but filled them with the greatest hopes. They imagined that their General was on the point of remaining almost alone with them, and that they should thus be more in a condition to give him law than to receive it from him. As they entered the city towards the close of the day, and saw the troops there making all the necessary preparations for their departure, they became confirmed in this expectation ; but during that very night, those who were to be punished, amounting to about thirty-five, and who were the principal authors of the sedition, were

secretly arrested. Great care was taken to do this without noise. Toward the morning, the baggage of the garrison which (as it was pretended) was to set out against the Spaniards, began its march, and at day-break advanced out of the city, but instead of proceeding, stopped outside and posted guards at all the gates, to prevent any one from coming out.

The mutineers, ignorant of these precautions, came to the assembly to which they had been summoned, with an air of haughtiness and arrogance; as men, in expectation of filling their General with terror, and far from fearing anything from him. Scipio then ascended his tribunal; and at that instant the Troops who had been made to march out of the city, having re-entered, surrounded the unarmed soldiers assembled round their General. All their insolence now forsook them, and what alarmed them most, was the vigorous and healthy appearance of Scipio, (whom they expected to find languid and weak with long sickness). He continued sitting for some time without saying a word, but with a stern and angry countenance, till he was informed that the authors of the sedition had been carried to the public place, and that all things were ready.

Then causing silence to be proclaimed by a licitor, he spoke to this effect: "I never thought that when I was to speak to my soldiers I could have been at a loss for what to say. However, at this time, both

thoughts and expressions fail me. I do not know what name to give you. Shall I call you citizens? You who have revolted against your country; you who have thrown off your obedience to your General's authority, and violated the oath by which you bound yourselves to your standards? Or shall I call you enemies? You have the appearance, the dress, the arms, of citizens; but your actions, language, and conspiracies, show you to be enemies. Wherein have your intentions differed from those of the revolted Spaniards? You are even more criminal, and more frantic, than they. For, after all, they followed as the leaders of their frenzy Mandonius and Indibilis, princes of the blood royal; whereas you have had the baseness to acknowledge for your Generals two men of no merit or rank, the mere dregs of the army. Deny that you have had any share in this mutiny. Affirm that it was the contrivance of a small number of frantic, abandoned wretches. I shall be glad to believe you, and it is my interest so to do.

“As to me, after having driven the Carthaginians out of Spain, I did not imagine, considering the conduct I have held, that there was a single place in the whole province where my life was hateful, or a single man that could desire my death. How much I was deceived in this hope! The moment the report of my death was spread in the camp, you not only heard it with indifference, but even

expected the confirmation of it with impatience. I am far from thinking that the whole army entertained the same hopes. If I believed this, I could not longer support a life become so odious to all my countrymen and to all my soldiers, and should sacrifice it here before your eyes.

“ But let us suppose that you believed my death with more precipitation than joy, and that I did not deserve your attachment and fidelity so much as I imagined, what had your Country done to you, that you should betray it by joining Mandonius and Indibilis? What had the Roman people done to you, that you should turn your arms against them? Did your not being paid for a few days, during the illness of your General, seem a sufficient reason for violating all laws human and divine?

“ And after all, what was the end of your sedition? and what advantage did you expect from so frantic and criminal a conspiracy? Were you in hopes of depriving the Roman people of the possession of Spain, and of making yourselves masters of it? But if I had died, would the Commonwealth have ended with my life? Would the sovereignty of the Roman people have expired with me? May the Gods forbid, that the duration of a state founded under their auspices to subsist eternally, should be limited, to that of a frail and perishable body like mine! The Roman people have survived the

loss of Paulus Æmilius, of Marcellus, of the two Scipios, my father and uncle, and of many illustrious generals who have perished in the same war; and will survive a thousand others, whom the sword or disease may carry off. You must have lost all reason when you abandoned your duty; and you can be considered only as persons seized with frenzy and distraction.

“But let all that is past be buried, if possible, in eternal oblivion, or at least in profound silence. For my part, I shall reproach you with it no more; and may you forget, as I shall, the excesses you have run into. As to what regards you in general, if you repent of your crime, I am satisfied; but for the wretches who have corrupted you, they shall expiate their crime with their blood. If you have recovered the use of your reason, their punishment will give you no pain, for they have wronged none so much as yourselves.”

As soon as Scipio had finished, all that was capable of striking terror into their souls was exhibited to their eyes and ears. The soldiers of the other army, who had surrounded the assembly, began to strike their swords on their shields; and at the same instant was heard the voice of the herald, summoning these who had been condemned into the presence of the council. After having been stripped, they were dragged into the middle of the assembly,

and the instruments of their punishment were brought out. While they were being fastened to stakes, whipped with rods, and beheaded, their former comrades remained motionless, and so struck with dread, that not a single complaint, nor even a groan, escaped them. The dead bodies were then removed, and the roll of the soldiers, having been called, each man in succession took a new oath in Scipio's name to the Tribunes, and at the same instant all their arrears were paid to them, and they were ordered to join their standards.

For his conduct in this perilous affair, Scipio obtained the greatest praise from the Senate, and it is mentioned with high commendation by the Roman historian ; but with our modern notions of honour and good faith on the part of military commanders, it is not easy to reconcile the entrapping the mutineers by the false promises of the seven Legionary Tribunes sent by Scipio to persuade them that they had nothing to apprehend in returning to their duty. Those officers had, in fact, assured them that they would have their grievance (which was a real one as to the arrears) fairly redressed, and their former good services rewarded. Such a breach of faith can never be defended on any grounds, and upon the few occasions in modern times when any attempt has been made to deceive the soldier, it has been a most difficult task to restore his confidence. A remarkable in-

tance of this occurred in our own country in 1743, when a regiment of newly-raised Highlanders, commanded by Lord Semple, were suddenly sent for to London, reviewed by George II., and ordered for immediate service in Germany. These men had been enlisted by the British government with the express condition that they should only be called upon for home service, and considering themselves unfairly entrapped, broke out into a mutiny at Finchley, and commenced their march homewards. A body of horse, under General Wade, was sent after them, and they were stopped and reduced to submission at Oundle, in Northamptonshire. Great severity was exercised on these deluded men by the court-martial before which they were tried; three were shot, and the rest drafted into regiments in the West Indies, a service at that time not far removed from transportation as felons.

It was attempted by the friends of the government to turn the matter into ridicule, and some clever verses were published on the affair by the celebrated Sir C. H. Williams; but there can be no doubt that the regiment was enlisted on the condition of home service only, and that it really was a gross breach of faith. The severe punishment of the unfortunate men, had a most prejudicial effect in exasperating all who were connected with them in the Highlands, and leading many into the great re-

bellion which broke out two years afterwards, who might otherwise have adhered to their allegiance to the House of Hanover. The following are the verses alluded to, but the wit of the author in no way refuted the manifest injustice of the proceeding.

THE HIGHLAND FLIGHT,

A NEW GRUB STREET BALLAD.

When an ample relief
For Austria's fair chief
At length was decreed by these islands,
We summoned our force,
Dragoons, foot, and horse,
And a regiment fetched from the Highlands.

In their own country plaid
They were cleverly clad,
And seemed so well furnished for war,
That one would have thought
They'd as fiercely have fought
As Croat, Pandour, or Hussar.

Our troops crossed the water,
The king followed after,
But the Highlanders would not go over,
For though they all swear,
Yet none of them care
To fight for the House of Hanover.

They would not agree
To crossing the sea,

A doubtful campaign to go through,
The receiving their pay,
Their sixpence a day,
Was all they thought they had to do.

After the Emperor Ferdinand II., whose bigotry was only equalled by his perfidy and cruelty, had reduced Bohemia to submission, a great number of the chief nobles of that country, who had taken active part in the unhappy civil war in defence of their religious opinions, were brought to Vienna for execution. The Count de Schlick, one of these unfortunate persons, showed an undaunted firmness of spirit in his misfortune. When pressed in his examination before the Court of Justice assembled for his trial, he at once rejected their inquiries, tore open his vest, and laying bare his breast, exclaimed, "Tear this body of mine into ten thousand pieces; probe every vein and corner of my heart; ye shall not find a single sentiment there but what my right hand hath subscribed. The love of liberty, of God's religion, and of my country, prompted that hand to wield the sword, and since it hath pleased the Supreme Being to transfer success to the Emperor, and to deliver us into your hands, I can only say with submission, resignation, and reverence, the will of God be done."

ESSAY V.

ON THE LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY.

THE love of our country is one of the most exalted and generous principles by which the human breast is animated. A true patriot is the man who is ready to give up his dearest interests, his possessions, his life itself, for the sake of his country : far different in character and in design from those enemies of order and of the public peace, who, under the false mask of patriotism, are ever seeking to promote their own selfish ends, to indulge their ambition, and gratify their base cupidity, by exciting their countrymen to rise in rebellion on every imaginary grievance and pretence.

In truth, loyalty and true patriotism are generally found in the same breasts. To fight for our king and country has ever been a familiar term in the

mouths of our best soldiers and sailors, and whenever those kindred feelings are dissevered by the advance of a democratic spirit, the glory of England will not long survive the unnatural change.

Many of the greatest sovereigns have attained their eminence in the page of history by the sincere and honest love of their country which has guided their thoughts and actions, and has excited in the hearts of their subjects that corresponding enthusiasm of loyalty which has proved their proudest reward. Henry IV. of France was a striking instance of this reciprocal sentiment. With many faults both as a man and a king, yet there always shone forth, in the various vicissitudes and chances of his chequered life, that love of his country which renders his name dear to every Frenchman who yet values and honours its ancient glories.

Again, in later times, there have been few brighter instances of patriotism in the sovereign, and loyalty in the subject, than the devoted spirit exhibited by the Hungarian nation when called upon by their high-minded sovereign, Maria Theresa, in 1743, to defend her crown, and their country, from the unjust invasion of Frederick King of Prussia. After describing the dangers which menaced her from all quarters, Mr. Cox tells us that "On surveying this deplorable state of affairs, the cause of Maria Theresa appeared wholly desperate; attacked by a for-

midable league; Vienna menaced with an instant siege; abandoned by her allies; without treasure, without an efficient army, without able ministers, she seemed to have no other alternative but to receive the law from her most inveterate enemies. But this great princess now displayed a courage truly heroic, and assisted by a subsidy from Great Britain, and animated by the zeal of her Hungarian subjects, rose superior to the storm."

Soon after her accession, she had conciliated the Hungarians, by reviving some of their ancient privileges, and at her coronation, in 1741, had received from her grateful subjects the warmest demonstration of loyalty and affection. An eye-witness of that peculiar national ceremony has well described the impression made on the surrounding multitude. "The coronation, (on the 25th June,)" writes Mr. Robinson, the English minister. "was magnificent and well ordered. The Queen was all charm; she rode gallantly up the Royal Mount, and defied the four corners of the world with the drawn sabre, in a manner to show she had no occasion for that weapon to conquer all who saw her. The antique crown received new grace from her head, and the old tattered robe of St. Stephen became her as well as her own rich habit, if diamonds, pearls, and all sorts of precious stones can be called clothes.

*‘ Illam quicquid agit, quoquo vestigia vertit,
Componit furtim, subsequiturque decor.’*

An air of delicacy, occasioned by her recent confinement, increased the personal attractions of this beautiful princess; but when she sat down to dine in public, she appeared still more engaging without her crown; the heat of the weather, and the fatigue of the ceremony, diffused an animated glow over her countenance, while her beautiful hair flowed in ringlets over her shoulders and bosom.”


These attractions, but far more so the firmness of her mind, kindled the zeal and enthusiasm of that brave and high-spirited people, and to them she now turned as her principal resource. The grey-headed politicians of Vienna in vain urged that the Hungarians, who, when Charles VI. proposed the “Pragmatic Sanction” had declared they were accustomed to be governed by men, and would not consent to a female succession, would seize this opportunity of withdrawing from the Austrian dominion. But Maria Theresa formed a different judgment, and the event justified her opinion. She felt that a people ardent for liberty, and distinguished by elevation of soul and energy of character, might indignantly reject the mandates of a powerful despot, but would not now be the less willing to shed their blood in sup-

port of a defenceless Queen, who, under the pressure of misfortune, appealed to them for succour.

Having summoned the States of the Diet to the castle, she entered the hall in which the members of the respective orders were assembled, clad in deep mourning, and habited in the Hungarian dress, with the crown of St. Stephen on her head, and the scymetar at her side, both objects of high veneration to the Hungarians, who are devoted to the memory of their ancient Princes.

She traversed the hall with a slow and majestic step, and ascended the tribune, from whence the sovereign is accustomed to harangue the States. After a solemn silence of a few minutes the Chancellor detailed the distressed condition of their Queen, and requested immediate assistance.

Maria Theresa then came forward and addressed the deputies in Latin, the language in common use among the Hungarians.

“The disastrous state of our affairs,” she said, “has moved us  lay before our dear and faithful States of Hungary the recent invasion of Austria, the danger now impending over this kingdom, and a proposal for the consideration of a remedy. The very existence of the kingdom of Hungary, of our own persons, of our children, and our crown, are now at stake. Forsaken by all, we place our sole resource in the fidelity, arms, and long-tried valour

of the Hungarians; exhorting you the States and Orders to deliberate without delay, in their extreme danger, on the most effectual measures for the security of our person, of our children, and of our crown. In regard to ourself, the faithful States and Orders of Hungary shall experience our hearty co-operation in all things which may promote the pristine happiness of this ancient kingdom, and the honour of my people."

The youth, beauty, and extreme distress of Maria Theresa made an instantaneous impression on the assembly. All the deputies drew their swords half out of their scabbards, and exclaimed, "We will consecrate our lives and arms; *Moriamur pro rege nostro Maria Theresa.*" Affected by this effusion of loyalty, the Queen, who had hitherto preserved a calm and dignified deportment, burst into tears of joy and gratitude; and the members of the States, roused almost to frenzy by this proof of her sensibility, testified by their gestures and acclamations the most heartfelt admiration, and repairing to the Diet, voted a liberal supply of soldiers and money.

A not less affecting scene took place when the deputies afterwards assembled to receive the oath of her husband, Francis Duke of Lorraine, appointed co-regent of the kingdom. At the conclusion of that ceremony, Francis, waving his hand, exclaimed, "My blood and life for the Queen and kingdom,"

and at the same moment she held up the infant Archduke to the view of the assembly. A cry of joy and exultation instantly burst forth, and the deputies repeated their exclamation, "*Moriamur pro rege nostro Maria Theresa.*" The vigorous resolutions of the Diet were supported by the nation at large, and numerous levies pouring from the banks of the Saave, the Theiss, the Drave, and the Danube, flowed to the royal standard. New troops, under the names of Croats, Pandours, Sclavonians, Warasdiners, and Tolpaches, exhibited a new spectacle to the eyes of Europe, and by their dress and arms, the ferocity of their manners, and their singular mode of combat, struck terror into the disciplined armies of France and Germany. Under the direction of General Kevenhuller, Vienna was put in a state of defence, and the burghers and students vied with the garrison in their resolution for a desperate resistance.

One more well-known example of royal patriotism must here be cited.

"In 1371, when Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, had invaded the territories of Muley Moluc, Emperor of Morocco, in order to dethrone him, and set the crown upon the head of his nephew, Moluc was wearing away with a distemper, which he himself knew was incurable. However, he prepared for the reception of so formidable an enemy. He was indeed so far

spent with his sickness, that he did not expect to live out the whole day, when the last decisive battle was given ; but knowing the fatal consequences that would happen to his children and people, in case he should die before he put an end to that war, he commanded his principal officers that if he died during the engagement, they should conceal his death from the army, and that they should ride up to the litter in which his corpse was carried, under pretence of receiving orders from him as usual. Before the battle began, he was carried through all the ranks of his army in an open litter, as they stood drawn up in array, encouraging them to fight valiantly in defence of their religion and country. Finding afterwards the battle to go against him, though he was very near his last agonies, he threw himself out of his litter, rallied his army, and led them to the charge, which afterwards ended in a complete victory on the side of the Moors. He had no sooner brought back his men to the engagement, but, finding himself utterly spent, he was again replaced in the litter, where, laying his finger on his mouth to enjoin secrecy to his officers, who stood about him, he died a few moments after in that posture."

When Marshal Turenne was opposed to Montecuculi near the Rhine, in 1675, the Comte de St Hilaire, a veteran officer of high character, commanded the French artillery. Turenne having made

a skilful disposition of his forces, rode out to reconnoitre in the direction where St. Hilaire had been charged to construct some batteries. While conversing with him, a shot struck St. Hilaire, carrying away his arm, and at the same instant passing through the body of Turenne. St. Hilaire's son, seeing his father fall, rushed to catch him in his arms, with loud exclamations of grief; but the General calmly entreated him to be silent, and added, as he pointed to the dead body of Turenne, who had just sunk from his saddle, "It is not for my misfortune we must weep," he said; "there lies the man who never can be replaced, and for whom every man who loves his country has indeed good reason to grieve and lament."

Sir Philip Sidney too, whose name will be an everlasting honour to England, being mortally wounded at the battle of Zutphen, the surgeon of Count Hallard, who attended on that officer as well as on his wounded master, told him that he was afraid he could not save the life of Sir Philip. "Away!" said the Count, angrily; "never return to me till you bring news of that man's recovery, whose life is of more value to his country than many such as mine."

It was the love of his country that drew Hannibal from the heart of Africa, urged him to undertake the most formidable difficulties in the war against the

Romans, and rendered him finally their conqueror. Wherever this sentiment prevails in its genuine vigour and extent, it absorbs all sordid and selfish regards ; it subdues the love of ease, power, pleasure, and wealth ; nay, when the amiable partialities of friendship, gratitude, or even private and domestic affections, come in competition with it, it will teach us to sacrifice all, in order to maintain the rights, and promote and defend the honour and happiness, of our country.

The position in which many a true patriot has found himself placed by no fault of his own in the course of civil war is of all things most to be pitied. He feels bound to fight for what he believes to be the side of right and justice, but for all that, it is against his own countrymen he directs his arms. He may have near and dear friends in the opposing force ; nay, his very relations may have taken up the other side, still his honour and his conscience urge him forward, and compel him to raise his hand against his friends and countrymen. In the civil wars of France, a country so often destined to endure those unhappy divisions, many such instances have occurred, where heroism worthy of other scenes was nobly displayed.

At the siege of St. Lo, in 1574, during the civil war which occurred in the reign of Charles IX., the commandant of that garrison could not be prevailed

upon to surrender it. He mounted the breach, accompanied by his two sons; one a boy of ten, the other of twelve, years of age. "My companions!" said he to the soldiers; "in conjunction with your lives and my own, I make a sacrifice to God of what I hold most dear in this world—the lives of my two children. I would much rather that their blood, pure and without taint, should now be mixed with my own, than that my country should fall into the hands of those tyrants (the Leaguers)." He was soon after killed by a cannon-ball, his children remaining unhurt.

While Louis XIV. was besieging Lisle, in 1667, the Count de Brouai, governor of the town, had occasion one day to make some communication to him in his camp. When the messenger was returning, the Duke de Charrost, captain of the guard, called out, "Tell Brouai not to follow the example of the governor of Douay, who yielded like a coward." The King turned round laughing, and said, "Charrost, are you mad?"—"How, sir?" answered he; "Brouai is my cousin."

The noblest triumph of patriotism consists in forgetting our private animosities and resentments, our feelings of unrewarded service, and injured, perhaps insulted, merit, when the good of our country again requires our active exertions.—A long series of calumnies, the suggestions of envy, had deprived the

Prussian general Zieten of the confidence of his sovereign, had forced from the presence of Frederic his best and bravest commander. The monarch at length perceived his true interest, and sought to recal Zieten to his station in the army. He employed for this purpose the intervention of one of his officers, who called upon Zieten, and in the course of conversation asked him, as if by mere accident, what he intended to do in case a war should break out : he likewise made particular inquiry into the state of his health, and hoped it would not prevent his joining the army. Zieten was not unprepared for the visit : he suspected the object of it, and received the royal emissary with suitable dignity and caution. " It is absolutely impossible," he replied, " for me to undertake the campaign. Since I have lost the King's favour, I have been a continual prey to vexations which have impaired my health and depressed my courage. I cannot see in what manner I can be useful. I can neither change my tactics nor my conduct : unfortunately, both have displeased the King, and involved me in disgrace. With principles like mine, it is impossible to serve : I shall be an incumbrance to the army, a mere machine without spring or motion." The visitor urged everything that he could suggest by way of counteracting this resolution ; and on pretence of the warm interest which he took in the General's welfare, began to in-

sinuate, with all the art of a courtier, that it would cost him nothing to be reinstated in the good graces of the monarch ; that a single word would remove every obstacle. Zieten, however, would not accept a pardon from the King : it was justice, not pardon, that he looked for at his hands ; nor could he condescend to owe that justice to the intercession of an enemy. He therefore remained firm in his purpose.

But Frederic had the return of Zieten too much at heart, not to determine on making another attempt. What had been refused to the favourite, might, he conceived, be granted to the monarch ; the subject, he hoped, might yield to the solicitation of his sovereign. He therefore resolved to call himself upon Zieten, and alone. He at first attempted to make him acknowledge his faults, and was desirous to persuade him that he himself had been the sole cause of the misunderstanding which had so long subsisted between them, ending with a promise of forgetting everything that had passed, and holding out his hand in token of reconciliation.

The King thought he had now done all that was necessary ; and indeed he had done much for a prince like Frederic the Great. But he went too far with Zieten, when he required him to take upon himself the whole of the blame ; and to acknowledge faults of which he had not been guilty. The wrongs

of which he had to complain, were too deeply rooted in his memory, and in the struggle that was necessary to enable him to tear himself from his King and country, his feelings had been too deeply wounded to admit of an easy cure. He listened in profound and respectful silence to the representations of the monarch : but he heard them without yielding to them ; and the moment of reconciliation began to appear more distant than ever, when the good Genius of Prussia prompted Frederic with the following words : “ No ; it cannot be possible that Zieten, my faithful general, on the approach of a perilous war, should abandon his King and country, whose confidence he so fully possesses ! ” These few words triumphed at once over the firmness of Zeiten, and found the way to his heart. He threw himself at the monarch's feet, and vowed to shed the last drop of his blood in his service.

An officer who has engaged in the service of a foreign country, ought to consider that as his country for which he bears arms. He is bound to it by the engagements he has contracted, by the post which the sovereign has entrusted him with, and by the protection he enjoys under his government : he therefore owes to him the same fidelity, zeal, and attachment, as he would have manifested towards the country that gave him birth.

A remarkable instance of this occurred when the forces of Charles XII. were pressing the siege of Copenhagen. The fortress of Rendsburg, in Holstein, was the only place by which the land succours could be conveyed to the besieged. On taking this town, Copenhagen must have been compelled to surrender; but the place was strong, the garrison numerous, and the commander a man of military reputation. The Duke of Holstein, who was in the interest of the Swedes, hoped to deprive Copenhagen of this resource. He made an offer to the inhabitants of Rendsburg to take them under his protection, to provide for their safety by means of the troops he had then with him, and promised to obtain for them the neutrality of Charles XII., who was his cousin. The father of the commandant, being in the Duke of Holstein's service, was the person pitched upon to convey these proposals. "It would have been difficult to persuade me," said the son to him, "that you were capable of making me a proposition of this nature: allow me to say, that if you were not my father, I should not have listened to it with patience. and a dungeon should have been the punishment of such an attempt." The father, who was influenced only by the motive of duty towards the prince whom he served, replied: "Thus far have I spoken to you as a subject of the Duke:

but as your father, I declare to you, that if you had had the weakness to discover the least inclination of surrendering the fortress which is confided to your charge, I should have been the first to treat you as a traitor and a rebel, and to declare you unworthy of the name you bear."

ESSAY VI.

GREATNESS OF MIND.

GREATNESS of mind, or magnanimity, consists, not only in courage tempered by justice and humanity, (virtues without which courage is seldom anything else than ferocity,) but likewise in a certain elevation of soul which, setting a man above all ordinary weakness, renders him superior to the chances of fortune. Thus the man of a great mind becomes intrepid amidst dangers, calm in the most severe misfortunes, and tranquil in those trying moments, when the most distinguished courage is otherwise apt to fail. This splendid quality seems to be born with some men, and to be an essential part of their nature, rather than an acquired virtue, or one of the fruits of civilization: though the advance of learning and education must no doubt tend to the im-

provement and culture of every good or great quality with which a man may happily be endowed from infancy. Among the rudest people of the earth, it has not been uncommon to find instances of a greatness of soul which must command admiration from any one capable of appreciating virtue. The savage tribes of American Indians were, with all their ferocity and ignorance, capable of much magnanimity.

During our war with the French in Canada, a party of them, accompanied as usual by some of the Indians attached to their army, made an attack on the Iroquois Indians, who were surprised and routed. The most distinguished among them, a venerable chief, nearly a hundred years of age, either disdaining or not being able to fly, was taken prisoner and abandoned to the savages of the French party, who, according to their custom, made him suffer the most exquisite tortures. The old man did not utter a groan or a sigh ; but severely reproached his countrymen for submitting to be the slaves of Europeans, of whom he spoke with the utmost contempt. These invectives irritated one of the spectators, who struck him several blows with a sabre, to dispatch him : “ You are wrong,” replied the intrepid prisoner coolly, “ to attempt to shorten my life, which might have allowed you more time to learn from my example, how to die like a man !”

Among the innumerable instances of the various

kinds of magnanimity or greatness of soul recorded in ancient history, Pausanias is one of those who stands pre-eminent.

After Leonidas, with three hundred men only, had disputed the pass of Thermopylæ against the whole army of Xerxes, and had been killed in the conflict, Xerxes, by the advice of Mardonius, caused his dead body to be hung upon a gibbet: thus making the intended dishonour of his enemy his own immortal shame. But some time after, Xerxes being defeated, and Mardonius slain, one of the principal citizens of Ægina addressed himself to Pausanias, desiring him to avenge the indignity which Mardonius and Xerxes had shown to the heroic Leonidas, by treating the body of Mardonius after the same manner. As a further motive for doing so, he added, that by thus satisfying the manes of those who were killed at Thermopylæ, he would immortalize his own name throughout Greece, and make his memory dear to the latest posterity. "Carry thy base counsels elsewhere," replied Pausanias: "thine must be a very wrong notion of true glory, to imagine that the way for me to acquire it, is to imitate the Barbarians. If the esteem of the people of Ægina is not to be purchased but by such a proceeding, I shall be content with preserving that of the Lacedæmonians only; among whom the ungenerous pleasure of revenge is never put in competition with that

of showing clemency and moderation to an enemy, especially after his death. As for my departed countrymen, they are sufficiently avenged by our glorious victory, and by the death of the many thousand Persians slain on the same spot in the last engagement."

The inhabitants of Privernum being subdued and taken prisoners after a revolt, one of them was asked by Plautinus, a Roman senator who advised putting them all to death, what punishment he and his fellow-captives deserved. He answered with great intrepidity: "We deserve that punishment which is due to men who are jealous of their liberty, and think themselves worthy of it." Plautinus, perceiving that this answer exasperated some of the senators, endeavoured to prevent the ill effects of it, by putting a milder question. "How would you behave," said he, "if Rome should pardon you?" "Our conduct," replied the generous captive, "depends upon yours. If the peace you grant be an honourable one, you may be assured of a constant fidelity on our parts: if the terms of it be hard and dishonourable, lay no stress on our adherence to you." Some of the judges considered these words as insolent: but the wiser part, perceiving in them a great degree of magnanimity, exclaimed, that a nation whose only desire was liberty, and their only fear that of losing it, was worthy to become Roman.

Accordingly a decree passed in favour of the prisoners, and Privernum was declared a municipal town. Thus the boldness of one man saved his country, and gained it the privilege of being incorporated into the Roman state.

When Alexander the Great had totally defeated the numerous army of Porus, an Indian prince of great courage and power, the conqueror desired to see his unsuccessful enemy, and upon his approach advanced to receive him, with some of his train. Having come near him, Alexander stopped to take a view of the noble mien of Porus, who was much above the common height : some historians say he was seven feet and a half in stature. The Indian prince did not seem dejected at his misfortune, but advanced with a resolute countenance, like a warrior whose courage in defending his dominions ought to acquire him the esteem of his victor. Alexander spoke first : and with a gracious air, asked him how he desired to be treated. " Like a king," replied Porus. " But," continued Alexander, " do you ask nothing more?" " No," replied Porus, " everything is included in that single word." Alexander, struck with this greatness of soul, the heroism of which seemed heightened by distress, not only restored his kingdom, but annexed other provinces to it, and treated him with the highest marks of honour, esteem, and friendship. Porus was faithful to

him till death.—It is hard to say whether the victor or the vanquished best deserved praise on this occasion.

Richard I., King of England, having invested the Castle of Chalons, in 1199, was wounded in the shoulder with an arrow; and an unskilful surgeon, endeavouring to extract the weapon, mangled the flesh in such a manner that a mortification ensued. Having at length taken the castle, but perceiving that he should not survive, he ordered Bertrand de Gourdon, the soldier who had shot the fatal arrow, to be brought into his presence. “What harm,” said the King, “did I ever do thee, that thou shouldst kill me!” The other replied with great resolution and courage: “You killed with your own hand my father and two of my brothers, and designed to kill me. You may now satiate your revenge. I should cheerfully suffer all the torments that can be inflicted, were I sure of having delivered the world of a tyrant who filled it with blood and carnage.” This spirited answer had such an effect on Richard, that he ordered the prisoner to be presented with a hundred shillings, and set at liberty: but Marchadée, who commanded some Brabanters in the king’s service, inhumanly caused him to be flayed alive, as soon as Richard had expired.

Francis Duke of Guise, surnamed *Balafré*, who took so distinguished a part in the civil wars of Charles

IX., though a violent, unscrupulous man in political affairs, had a generous and high spirit. Some years before his murder at Orleans, (by Polbrot, in 1563,) he was informed that a Protestant gentleman had come into his camp with an intention to assassinate him. The Duke sent for him, and when he deliberately avowed his intention, asked him whether his design arose from any offence he had ever given him. "Your excellency never gave me any, I assure you," replied the gentleman; "my sole motive for desiring your life is because you are the greatest enemy our religion ever knew." "Well, then, my friend," said the Duke to him, "if your religion incites you to assassinate me, my religion tells me to forgive you;" and he sent him immediately out of the camp.—Another person was once brought to the Duke, who had boasted that he would kill him. The Duke, looking at him very attentively, and observing his embarrassed countenance, said to his officers: "That blockhead will never have the heart to kill me: let him go; it is not worth while to confine him."

Henry, the eldest son of this remarkable man, suffered from a rash display of the same high spirit. On the day before that on which he was treacherously assassinated at Blois, in 1588, by order of his sovereign, Henry III. of France, some one put a note under his plate at dinner, to inform him of the King's

intention. He read the note with great coolness; and wrote under with his pencil, "He dares not;" and finished his dinner very quietly. The next morning, being summoned to attend the King, he found too late the truth of the intelligence which had been conveyed to him, being set upon by some of the King's body guards, headed by one Lognac, and murdered within the very palace.

The uncommon method which Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, employed to obtain the friendship of Banier, so celebrated for his attachment to this prince, and distinguished for his great military services, deserves to be related.

Gustavus's father, Charles X., whose reign was marked with cruelty, had put to death the father of Banier. One day, when Gustavus was hunting with young Banier, he requested him to quit the chace, and ride into a wood. When they came into a thick part of it, the King alighted from his horse, and said to Banier: "My father was the destroyer of yours. If you wish to revenge his death by mine, kill me immediately: if not, be my friend for ever." Banier, overcome by his feelings, and astonished at such magnanimity, threw himself at Gustavus's feet, and vowed to him an eternal friendship.

A similar anecdote of the same monarch is related on another occasion. He was of a very hasty disposition; which he one day even carried so far as to give

a blow to Colonel Seaton, a very gallant officer of the Scotch brigade in the Swedish service, for something which that officer had done to displease him. Seaton demanded his dismissal from the army, obtained it, and set out for the frontier of Denmark. The King, presently ashamed of the insult he had thus put upon a brave and excellent officer, soon followed him on a swift horse and overtook him. "Seaton," said he, "I see you are justly offended; I am sorry for it, as I have a great regard for you. I have followed you hither, to give you satisfaction. I am now, as you well know, out of my own kingdom; so that at present we are equals. Here are pistols and swords; avenge yourself, if you please." Seaton immediately threw himself at the King's feet, and declared he had already received ample satisfaction; nor had the King ever afterward a more devoted servant, or one more ready to lay down his life for the prince who had so generously redeemed his hasty and inconsiderate act of passion.

Greatness of mind has often been shown by soldiers of humble rank as well as by those of elevated station. When the great Condé commanded the Spanish army in Flanders, and laid siege to one of the towns there, a soldier being ill-treated by a general officer, and struck several times with a cane, for some hasty words he had spoken, answered very coolly, that he hoped one day to make him repent it. A fortnight after, the

same General ordered the Colonel on duty in the trenches, to find him out a bold and intrepid fellow to execute a particular service for which he promised a reward of a hundred pistoles. The soldier above spoken of, who passed for the bravest in the regiment, offered himself for the business; and taking with him thirty of his comrades whom he selected, performed the service required, which was a very hazardous one connected with one of the mines under the works of the place, with incredible courage and success. On his return the General commended him highly, and gave him the hundred pistoles he had promised. These, however, the soldier immediately distributed among his comrades, saying he did not do the service for pay; and demanded only that, if his late action seemed to deserve any recompense, they would make him an officer: "And now, sir," continued he to the General, who did not know him, "I am the soldier whom you so abused a fortnight ago; and I told you I would make you repent it." The General instantly recollected him; and, in admiration of his noble behaviour, embraced him before his comrades, begging his pardon for the outrage, and gave him a commission in his own regiment.

At the siege of Namur by the allies, in 1690, there were in the ranks of the company commanded by Captain Pincent, in Colonel Frederic Hamilton's regiment, one Unnion, a corporal, and one Valentine,

a private soldier. There happened between these two men a dispute about an affair of love ; which, on some aggravations, grew to an irreconcilable hatred. Unnion being Valentine's superior, took all opportunities even to strike his rival, and profess the ill-will which excited him to it, such being, at that period, the severity permitted in the discipline of the English army. The other bore this without resistance, but frequently said he would die to be revenged of his tyrant. They had spent whole months in this manner, one injuring, and the other complaining, When they were both ordered on the attack of the castle, where the corporal received a shot in the thigh, and fell : the French made a furious sortie, and as he expected to be trampled to death, he called out to his enemy, " Ah, Valentine ! can you leave me here !" Valentine immediately ran to him ; and in the midst of a thick fire of the French, took him upon his back, and brought him through the danger as far as the Abbey of Salsines, when a cannon-ball took off his own head, and he fell under the man he was carrying off. Unnion immediately forgot his own wound, tore his hair, and throwing himself on the bleeding carcass, " Ah, Valentine," he cried, " was it for me who had so barbarously used thee, that thou hast died ! I will not live after thee." He could not be forced from the body, but was removed with it bleeding in his arms, and attended with tears by

all their comrades who knew their former enmity, When he was brought to a tent, his wounds were dressed, but the next day, still calling on Valentine, and lamenting his cruelties to him, he died in agonies of remorse.

The character of Prince Eugene was a very noble one in many respects; in none more so than as regards his conduct towards the Duke of Marlborough. While they were acting in concert against the common enemy, Eugene's whole study seemed to be how he might, by meeting every view and wish of his illustrious rival in glory, carry on the great service with which they were entrusted, in such a manner that complete unity should be manifest in every operation they undertook against the French. Despising the petty and contemptible cabals of the Dutch Deputies, and acting in remarkable contrast to their proceedings, Eugene invariably strove to identify his troops with the British, and to rest his own glory upon that of Marlborough, claiming no separate credit for himself, but doing all in his power to promote and ensure the success of the English Commander.

But highly as this disinterested behaviour in the field did honour to Eugene, an opportunity was afforded him of showing still greater proofs of the magnanimity of his nature, when, after the triumph of Marlborough's enemies, and the public disgrace

cast upon him by his weak and ill-advised Queen, he was sent to London by the Emperor, Charles VI., to make a last effort against that shameful abandonment of the common cause of Europe by the British Government, which led to the peace of Utrecht in 1712.

We learn from the memoirs and letters of the time, that the great fame of the Prince had caused much enthusiasm and desire to behold a General so celebrated throughout Europe, and more especially one so popular with all those English officers and soldiers who had shared his brilliant successes on the continent during the many hard-fought campaigns of the allied armies against the French.

The coldness with which (by no means to her honour) Queen Anne received the Prince, and the false rumours, industriously circulated by her base and unscrupulous ministry, could not control the popular admiration of him, and during his stay in London he was invited by distinguished persons of all parties to dinners and entertainments.

On one of these occasions, a nobleman, who was attached to the court party, and at bitter enmity with Marlborough, insidiously endeavoured, by artful suggestions and inuendos, to induce the Prince to concur in some sarcastic observations on the reputed weakness of Marlborough, as to an economy and love of money, unbecoming his position. The

Prince did not at first perceive the drift of the conversation, but presently discovering the point to which this attempt was made to lead him, he drew up with an air of dignity, and cut short the impertinence, by saying that he had been so accustomed to observe, and respect, the many great and eminent qualities of the Duke, that he had indeed found neither inclination nor leisure to look for any slight faults or errors, that might be discovered in so great and illustrious a person.

Mr. Coxe, in his observations on the conduct of this high-minded Prince, concludes with the following just tribute to his character.

“The counsels of Eugene were always moderate and disinterested, and therefore not congenial to corrupt and designing men. Notwithstanding his talent for war, and ardour for military glory, instead of supporting a continuance of hostilities which increased his own consequence, he was an advocate for peace whenever honourable terms could be procured.

During the contest with the Turks, (terminated by his great victory of Zenta, in 1697,) he was not ignorant of the court intrigues which threatened his dismissal at the cessation of hostilities; yet he exerted his full powers to compel the Imperial Plenipotentiary to conclude the peace of Carlowitz.

In a word, he derived, from the consciousness of

his own integrity, such a contempt for the cabals of a court, that he did not condescend to take sufficient precautions against them, and nearly fell a sacrifice to the intrigues of his enemies, who were endeavouring to ruin him in the estimation of the Emperor.

ESSAY VII.

ON HUMANITY.

WAR, that unavoidable expedient to which the vices and follies of mankind have prompted them from the earliest ages for the decision of their contradictory interests and opinions, appears in its most terrible form when unchecked by the interference of humanity. A deplorable instance of this occurs in the career of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. He met with very great resistance in besieging the town of Nesle. As soon as it surrendered to him, in the fury of his revenge, he ordered the inhabitants and garrison to be put to the sword, the Commanding officer to be hung on the ramparts, and the whole town to be set on fire. Then, looking on these atrocities with the greatest coolness, he said to one of his attendants, "Such fruit does the tree of war bear."

Much of a piece with this barbarity, though even more execrable, because the subjects of his savage cruelty were almost all his own countrymen, was the bloody massacre perpetrated by Cromwell upon the garrison of Drogheda when he captured that town in 1649. They were commanded by Sir Arthur Aston, an officer of known spirit and bravery, who made a gallant and honourable defence of the place, entrusted by the King to his charge. His garrison was eventually reduced to about two thousand men, with which he stood out, till, the fortifications being ruined, a general assault was ordered by Cromwell, and the place stormed and taken. As is too often inevitable on such occasions, a fearful slaughter ensued both of soldiers and inhabitants; but when defence became hopeless, the former at length laid down their arms. Humanity shudders at the fact that Cromwell, so far from respecting their bravery and misfortune, deliberately gave orders to kill every officer and man of them, including the gallant Aston, their commander, which diabolical mandate was executed without hesitation. This occurrence stands on no doubtful or disputed evidence. We have his own letter, narrating the matter as if it had been the killing of sheep or oxen.

The following is the conclusion of his report to parliament, dated Dublin, 17th September, 1649, after the capture of Drogheda, and a most curious

mixture it is of barbarous unmanly cruelty and canting hypocrisy.

* * * * *

“ Divers of the enemy retreated into the Mill-mount, a place very strong and of difficult access ; being exceedingly high, having a good graft [ditch], and strongly palisadoed. The governor, Sir Arthur Aston, and divers considerable officers being there, our men getting up to them, *were ordered by me to put them all to the sword.* And, indeed, being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town ; and, I think, that night they put to the sword about two thousand men ;—divers of the officers and soldiers being fled over the bridge into the other part of the town, where about one hundred of them possessed St. Peter’s church steeple, some the west gate, and others a strong round tower next the gate called St. Sunday’s. These, being summoned to yield to mercy, refused. Whereupon I ordered the steeple of St. Peter’s Church to be fired, when one of them was heard to say, in the midst of the flames, ‘ God damn me ! God confound me ! I burn, I burn !’

“ The next day, the other two towers were summoned ; in one of which was about six or seven score ; but they refused to yield themselves : and we, knowing that hunger must compel them, set

only good guards to secure them from running away until their stomachs were come down. From one of the said towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men. When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed ; and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes. The soldiers in the other tower were all spared, as to their lives only, and shipped likewise for the Barbadoes * I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood ; and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future. Which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret.

. “ And now,” he continues, “ give me leave to say how it comes to pass that this work is wrought. It was set upon some of our hearts, that a great thing should be done, not by power or might, but by the Spirit of God. It was this Spirit who gave your men courage, and took it away again ; and gave the enemy courage, and took it away again ; and gave your men courage

* Shipping for Barbadoes amounted to neither more nor less than selling those unfortunate men for slaves to the planters to perish in hopeless servitude in that unhealthy climate.

again, and therewith this happy success. And therefore it is good that God alone have all glory." *

When we consider that a body of two thousand men is about the strength of three of our regiments of infantry in the field, it is horrible to think of so hideous a scene as this wholesale slaughter of the garrison must have presented. Drogheda was at that time but a small town, and the streets must have been literally running with blood for hours while this savage hypocrite was indulging in his unmanly revenge. The wonder is that a sufficient number of brutes should have been found in his army to carry out his deliberate cruelty, after all the fury of the contest had subsided, and to perform the part of butchers and executioners upon soldiers of whom two-thirds were Englishmen entreating for mercy in their own language, and having only acted, as any other troops of bravery and spirit would have done in making a gallant defence and acquitting themselves honourably of their duty.

It was well said in reference to the superstition which could prompt such deeds in barbarous ages,

"Religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta ;"

but it was reserved for Cromwell to show to what

* Daubigné's Protector.

inconceivable lengths he could lead his fanatical followers under the false pretences of superior sanctity and grace, with which he cloaked his wickedness and cruelty on this and other occasions.

Happily for the world, the heroes of military story have seldom been of such savage natures. "Brave men," said Henry the Fourth of France, "are the last to advise war, but the first to go into the field when it is determined upon." He answered some of his officers who wished him to break off a treaty of capitulation, that it was a thing against nature, and barbarous, to make war from the mere love of war; and that a prince should never refuse a peace, unless it was disadvantageous to his country. "There would be fewer wars in the world," added he, "if every sovereign would visit his military hospitals the day after a battle."

The Duke of Marlborough, who was always remarkable for his humanity, observing a soldier leaning thoughtfully on the butt of his firelock just after victory had so signally crowned the British arms at the battle of Blenheim, accosted him thus:—"Why so sad, my friend, after so glorious a victory?" "It may be glorious," replied the fellow; "but I am thinking how much blood I have spilt this day for fourpence," (a private soldier's daily pay at that time.) To the credit of human nature, it should be recorded that the Duke turning aside, a tear was observed to fall from his cheek.

Unaffected humanity has often gained a hero greater fame and applause than the most brilliant and dazzling achievements, even in ancient times, when war was carried on in a much more savage spirit than since the period of Chivalry and the advance of civilization has softened its horrors.

Alexander having conquered Darius, king of Persia, took a vast number of prisoners; and among others, the wife and mother of Darius. According to the laws of war at that time, he might have made slaves of them: but he disdained to make that cruel use of his victory; he treated them as queens, and showed them the same attention and respect, as if they had been his guests, and not captives; which Darius hearing, said that Alexander deserved to be victorious, and was alone worthy to reign in his stead.

The Romans were not remarkable for humanity, but at the close of the battle of Pharsalia, Cæsar, as he rode over the bloody field, cried, "Spare the citizens!" nor were any killed, but such as continued to make resistance and to refuse quarter; and at a later period, when he heard of the base and cruel murder of his illustrious rival, Pompey, he was so far from exulting, that he burst into tears, and punished his murderers as soon as they fell into his power.

Plutarch relates that one of the principal citizens of Athens having been taken prisoner by the Mace-

donians, was so well treated by them, that when they were about to release him, he said to his countrymen, who were surprised at seeing him shed tears: "Do you think that I can without regret take leave of a city which contains *enemies* so generous, that it will be difficult to find elsewhere *friends* equally valuable?"

The true hero will always consider humanity as one of the first of his duties. He may be quick and rapid in his decisions, but they will yet be tempered by reason and justice: he is never terrible, but to the enemy; to his superiors he is loyal, easy with his equals, affable with his inferiors, and accessible to all. His private interests, unjust insults from others, or ill-grounded prejudices against him, will never induce him to swerve from that moderation which regulates the whole of his conduct.

The illustrious Turenne was celebrated for the tenderness and kindness of his nature. His own soldiers adored him, and to the wounded and prisoners of the Enemy, when they fell into his hands, he was invariably mild and merciful, nor did he ever expose the lives of his own soldiers unless when the necessity of the service demanded the risk and sacrifice.

In private life no man was more courteous and amiable.

Yet with his known humanity and kindness of heart, which earned him the love and esteem of all who served under him, it must always be regretted as a blot in his military fame, that he executed, but too rigidly, the barbarous orders of Louis XIV. for the ravage and destruction of the Palatinate in 1674—a measure utterly unjustifiable, and which roused the indignation of all Europe against the French king. The unfortunate Elector, driven to distraction, by the sight of two cities and twenty-five towns, in flames, from his castle at Mannheim, actually challenged Turenne to a duel, but got no other reply from the Marshal, than, that he could not accept such a challenge, without the King's leave, but was always ready to meet him at the head of his army. His death, by a chance shot, the following year was by the subjects of the Elector considered a direct judgment upon him for the license and barbarities he had allowed his troops in the execution of his master's orders for the destruction of their beautiful cities and villages.

Countries, which have the misfortune to become the theatres of war, would not suffer half the distresses which are the ordinary consequence of hostilities, if the Leaders of armies strictly prevented further outrages being committed than the laws of war and the duty of self-defence absolutely demand. The indignation and curses of the inhabitants would

not, as is too generally the case, follow the footsteps of an army, whether defeated or victorious, nor would the stragglers meet with such savage retribution as is usually exercised on them.

There have been instances of officers, not deficient either in bravery or in skill, who at the same time sought only to enrich themselves; and sacrificing to this base motive the interests both of their prince and of their country, have, under pretence of the rights of war, permitted the greatest outrages. This was lamentably frequent with the French armies during the last war in Spain and Portugal, and many of their distinguished generals were not above those unworthy practices. But there were brilliant exceptions. Among others, Marshal Moncey's behaviour to the natives in the early part of the contest was a noble contrast to the system of plunder and robbery countenanced and encouraged by some of his colleagues; and notwithstanding the general hatred of the French which long survived their occupation of Spain, the old Marshal's name is still held in respect throughout those southern provinces where he commanded with equal justice and moderation.

During the wars of the French in Italy, when Brescia was taken by storm, after revolting from the French, in 1512, by Gaston de Foix, the Chevalier Bayard saved a house from plunder, whither he had retired to have a wound dressed, which he received in the siege,

and preserved the mistress of the family and her two daughters, who were concealed in it. At his departure, the lady, as a mark of her gratitude, offered him a casket containing three thousand ducats, which he at first refused: but observing that his refusal was very displeasing to her, and not wishing to leave her dissatisfied, he consented to accept her present: and calling to him the two young ladies to take his leave of them, he gave each of them a thousand ducats to be added to their portion, and left the remainder to be distributed among the inhabitants that had been plundered.

Gonsalvo, surnamed the Great Captain, took Naples by storm in the year 1503; and when some of his soldiers expressed their disapprobation at not having had a sufficient share in the spoil of that rich city, he nobly replied: "I will repair your bad fortune. Go to my quarter, and take all you can find there; I give it you all: but you shall not stain your glory by the plunder of the citizens."

It is indeed at the dreadful crisis of entering a town by storm, that it becomes difficult, and too often impossible, to restrain the excited soldiers from acts of inhumanity. On such occasions, the fatigues and labour of a protracted or vexatious siege, the intoxication of triumph, and worst of all, a thirst for plunder, produce excesses of cruelty and barbarity, which in all civilized nations have long been banished from the contest in the open field.

It is the bounden duty of every officer of honour and principle to exert himself to prevent such shameful disorder, and to preserve the wreath of victory undefiled with the stain of murder or of cowardice ; for both these are included in the slaughter of unarmed inhabitants, and of a conquered foe. It is incontestable that the military spirit is the bulwark and defence of a state, and must be carefully kept up and sustained ; but when unrestrained by discipline and proper control, it becomes the heaviest curse of the people whom it was intended to protect.

Peter the Great took by storm the city of Narva, in 1704, which was defended on the part of Sweden, by General Horn. In defiance of the express orders of the Czar, after some desperate fighting, the soldiery carried fire and destruction into every quarter of the town, slaughtering the inhabitants without mercy. Peter the Great threw himself, sword in hand, into the midst of the massacre ; and forced the defenceless women and children from his merciless and savage troops, who were on the point of putting them all to death. He killed, with his own hand, many of his ferocious soldiers, whom the heat of the carnage rendered deaf to his voice : and at last succeeded so far as to curb the fury of this unlicensed scene, and collect his dispersed and scattered troops. Covered with dust, sweat, and blood, he then hastened to the town-house, where the principal inhabitants of the place had taken refuge. His terrible

and threatening air greatly alarmed these unhappy people. As soon as he had entered the hall, he laid his sword on a table; and then addressing himself to the affrighted multitude, who waited their doom in anxious silence: "It is not," said he, "with the blood of your fellow-citizens that this sword is stained; but with that of my own soldiers, whom I have been sacrificing for your preservation."

In the early part of the succession war, when the Germans and English attempted the reduction of Barcelona for the Archduke Charles, afterwards Emperor of Germany, the Earl of Peterborough, who never liked this enterprise, had actually given orders for re-embarking the English troops, when intelligence was brought to him that the Prince of Darmstadt, his coadjutor, was killed. On receiving this news, he vigorously pressed the reduction of a place, in which no one could now divide with him the glory of the achievement. The Viceroy, a weak man, seeing a powerful enemy without, and a seditious people within the walls, determined to surrender. He accordingly came to treat with Peterborough at the gates of the town. The articles were agreed upon, but not yet signed, when suddenly their ears were assaulted with loud cries and clamour. "You deal treacherously with us," said the Viceroy; "we are capitulating honourably, and your troops are now

entering the town by the ramparts” “It is a mistake,” replied the Earl; “these must be the troops of the Prince of Darmstadt; there is now only one way of saving the place, which is, to admit me instantly with my English forces: I will quiet everything, and will then return to the gate to finish the capitulation.”

He spoke with an air of so much truth and openness, as, joined to the urgency of the danger, induced the Governor to comply. He was permitted accordingly to enter the town, and found the Germans and Catalans already employed in pillaging the houses of the principal citizens. These he immediately drove out into the streets, and compelled them to relinquish the booty which they had seized. He found the Duchess of Popoli in the hands of the soldiers, and in danger of the most barbarous treatment: from these ruffians he rescued her, and sent her to her husband, and having restored everything to tranquillity, he returned to the gate, and signed the capitulation, to the astonishment of the Spaniards, who little expected to find in the English so much magnanimity; the common people having always supposed them to be merciless barbarians, because they were Protestants.

The Turks having invaded the Ukraine on the side of Russia in 1737, the Czarina sent two numerous armies to repel the invaders. One of these, command-

ed by Count Lasce, an Irish general of great courage and experience, broke through the Turkish intrenchments, and ravaged Crim Tartary with fire and sword. The other army was under the command of Count Munich, and destined for the destruction of Oczakow. In this army, Keith, who afterwards became Governor of Berlin and a Field-marshal in the Prussian service, was then a Lieutenant-general. By his valour and skill, at the head of eight thousand men, the fortress of Oczakow was besieged and eventually taken; at least, the success was chiefly attributed to him. In storming this place, he gave such an example of humanity, as diffused additional lustre round his military glory; for while the furious Muscovites were sanguinary in their revenge, he made every exertion to check their ferocity, and to induce them to spare the lives of their enemies. Among others, he rescued a child of six years of age from the hands of a savage, who had already lifted up his sabre to cut off her head, in mere wantonness of cruelty, as she was struggling to extricate herself out of some rubbish in which she had been entangled. Her father was a Turkish Pacha of some eminence, who had fallen in the siege, and she was now an orphan; Keith not knowing how to provide for her himself, sent her to the Lord Marischall, his brother,* who brought her

* This was the last Earl Marischall. He forfeited his title and estates for taking part in the rebellion of 1715, and retired to Berlin, where he lived to a good old age much respected.

up in the principles of the Church of England, and educated her in the most liberal manner. He treated her in every respect as if she had been his own daughter : and as she grew up, gave her the charge of his household, where she did the honours of the table, and behaved herself with the greatest propriety and discretion.

A General who is impressed with the recollection that the fate of thousands is entrusted to his hands ; and who is actuated by a conviction of the principle, that war will not justify any cruelty or severity beyond what is necessary for the effect and safety of its operations, will seek to attain his purposes by the means which are attended with the smallest sum of misery and calamity, as well to the contending forces, as to the unarmed inhabitants of the country which happens to be the seat of hostilities.

Wolfe, the illustrious conqueror of Quebec, in 1759, was a man of this character. The order which he issued on his arrival in the St. Lawrence does honour to his memory almost as much as his heroic deeds in the hours of victory.

“ A soldier should not forget to behave with humanity to such persons, in an enemy’s country, as can make no resistance ; that is, to the poor peasants, women, and children : and they should at all times meet with his protection.

“ G. O. OF GENERAL WOLFE.”

But we have in our own time a glorious instance of the same spirit of humanity. On entering France with his victorious Troops, in July, 1813, the following appeared in the Duke of Wellington's general orders to the army.

"The officers and soldiers of the army must recollect that their nations are at war with France solely because the ruler of the French nation will not allow them to be at peace, and is desirous of forcing them to submit to his yoke; and they must not forget that the worst of the evils suffered by the enemy in his profligate invasion of Spain and Portugal, have been occasioned by the irregularities of the soldiers, and their cruelties, authorized and encouraged by their chiefs, towards the unfortunate and peaceful inhabitants of the country.

"To revenge this conduct on the peaceful inhabitants of France, would be unmanly and unworthy of the nations to whom the Commander of the Forces now addresses himself, and at all events would be the occasion of similar and worse evils to the army at large, than those which the enemy's army have suffered in the Peninsula."

The Revolutionary armies of France were seldom restrained by any check of this kind. Buonaparte's first operations on landing in Egypt, as described by the officers of his own army, were disgraced by much unnecessary severity and cruelty. "We advanced," say the writers of the Letters xxi.

and xxii. in the Intercepted Correspondence published by authority, "with an army of twenty-five thousand men against Alexandria: a place without any defence, and garrisoned by five hundred janissaries. The charge is sounded: our soldiers fly to the ramparts, which they scale in spite of the obstinate defence of the besieged; many of our generals are wounded; but courage at length subdues the obstinacy of the Turks. Repulsed on every side, they betake themselves to God and their Prophet, and fill their mosques; men, women, old, young, children at the breast, ALL are massacred." This horrid scene continued four hours. "We lost one hundred and fifty men, who" (as well as the slaughtered inhabitants) "might have been preserved by our only summoning the town; but it was thought necessary to begin by striking terror into the enemy."

Some beautiful instances are recorded in history of the affection and humanity of sovereigns toward their subjects, even when the latter have shown themselves under circumstances of disloyalty or rebellion.

Alphonso, King of Naples and Sicily, besieged the city of Cajeta, which had rebelled against him; and the citizens, being distressed for provisions, sent out all their old men, women, and children, and such as were unserviceable, and shut their gates against them. The King's council advised that they

should not be permitted to pass, but should be forced back again into the city, by which means he would speedily become the master of it. The King, however, pitying their condition, suffered them to depart, though he knew it would occasion the protraction of the siege. He eventually failed in taking the city, on which some were so bold as to tell him, that it would have been his own if he had not dealt in this manner. "But," said he, "I value the safety of so many persons at the rate of a hundred such towns as this."

Henry IV. of France, while besieging Paris, (in 1594,) which the inhabitants had put in possession of his enemies, suffered all who were willing to quit that obstinate and deluded capital to pass through his army, observing, "I am not astonished that the heads of the League, and the Spaniards, have so little pity upon these poor people; they are only their tyrants: but for me, who am their father and their king, I cannot bear the recital of what they suffer from famine and pestilence without horror, and without desiring to alleviate it."

After the defeat of Prince Charles Edward, son of the Pretender, at Culloden, in 1746, and the dispersion of his little army, this young adventurer, who had already experienced so many disasters, wandered, without succour, sometimes with two companions of his misfortunes, sometimes with only one, and at

length quite alone, pursued incessantly by those who sought to gain the price set upon his head. Having one day travelled thirty miles on foot, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, he entered the house of a man whom he knew to be unfriendly to his cause. "The son of your king," said he to him, "is come to ask of you bread and clothing. I know very well that you are my enemy; but I believe you too much a man of honour, to abuse my confidence and my misfortunes. Take the wretched rags that now, cover me; preserve them; and you may perhaps one day bring them to me to the palace of the kings of Great Britain." The gentleman, struck with his spirit and his excess of misery, gave him every succour that his situation required, and kept the secret inviolable.

Some time afterward, information was given against him of having afforded an asylum in his house to Prince Charles, and he was cited before the judges to answer this accusation. He presented himself to them with a firmness that virtue alone can give, and thus addressed them: "Allow me, before I am interrogated upon this matter, to ask you, which of you, if the son of the Pretender had taken refuge under your roof, would have had the baseness and the cowardice to betray him?" To this question no reply was made, and after a short detention, the accused person was dismissed.

The following anecdote exhibits an admirable example of humanity on one side, and of heroic greatness of mind on the other.—In the revolutionary war, a republican General besieging one of the fortresses in Germany, received a message that the Governor was willing to capitulate. A cartel was accordingly proposed ; and the two commanders, accompanied by their officers, attended. A proposal was made by the Governor of the fortress to save some French emigrants serving in the garrison. The French General expressed, in the most animated terms, his regret that he was not master of the fate of these unfortunate men ; since the Commissaries of the Convention attached to his army, would not consent to anything in their favour. It was then proposed to suffer two loaded waggons to depart from the town unsearched, but this was objected to on the same grounds.

One of the emigrant officers now addressed the republican commander : “ General,” said he, “ from your generous feelings, I expect that you will allow me this chance of escape : I speak German as well as if I were a native of Germany ; and if you will give me a certificate that I was a German and a spy, I shall be safe !” The General wrote the desired certificate, and presented it with these words : “ May it save your life—and may my head escape the guillotine !” The noble emigrant, taking the paper, and tearing it to pieces, said, “ I will never accept of so dear a

present.” Other means were happily found for his escape.

In the moment of triumph, the intoxication of success may excuse an insensibility to the loss of those multitudes who fall in the heat of the combat ; but when the battle is decided, it belongs only to the most ferocious and cruel natures to pursue further the shedding of blood. Generous spirits feel then no other impulse than compassion, and the most impetuous excitement instantly yields to the better influence of humanity. Did even the strongest reasons exist for irritation against his enemy, the truly brave man will consider it as mean and cowardly to take away the life of him whom he has vanquished and disarmed.

The Duke de Chartres, afterward Duke of Orleans and Regent of France during Louis XVth's minority, personally exerted himself, after an action in Flanders, to help the wounded of each party into the waggons. “After the combat is over,” said he, “there are no longer enemies upon the field of battle.”

A noble instance of humanity is that of the admirable Sir Philip Sidney, at the battle near Zutphen, where he displayed the most undaunted courage. He had two horses killed under him ; and while mounting a third, was wounded by a musket-shot from the trenches, which broke his thigh. He returned about a mile and a half on horseback, to

the camp ; and being faint with the loss of blood, and with thirst through the heat of the weather, he called for drink. It was brought him ; but, as he was putting the vessel to his mouth, a poor wounded soldier, who happened to be carried by him at that instant, looked up to it with wistful eyes. The gallant and generous Sidney took the bottle from his mouth, and gave it to the soldier, saying, " His necessity is greater than mine."

ESSAY VIII.

ON MODESTY.

It is not uncommon, even for men of sense and understanding on most subjects, to entertain too high an opinion of themselves and of their endowments. This self-conceit almost always deceives those who indulge in it, and often leads to the greatest mortifications. Disappointments and defeat in war, are, in respect of military persons, excellent correctors of this error; but the lesson we learn by these must be at the expense of the prince whom we serve. A man possessed of every talent and endowment that could be desired, if he remains ignorant of himself, of his own defects and weaknesses, will find his eminent qualities only occasions of disgrace and of ruin: he will not know how to regulate his enterprizes by his power; he will enter into rash engagements; and presumption,

which seldom knows any bounds, when it is not restrained by self-knowledge, will hurry him to the most dangerous errors.

Self-knowledge may sometimes, on the other hand, supply the deficiency of all other acquirements ; while the want of this quality may render every other not only useless, but dangerous and pernicious to him who possesses them. A defect in memory, intelligence, prudence, science, industry, or activity, is considerably relieved if we are sensible of our deficiency, and know how to borrow with discretion from others, what we cannot ourselves supply ; and this consciousness may be of service to us, if it prevents our undertaking any task, requiring qualities with which we are not endowed.

The young Count of Soissons, who was killed at the battle of Sedan, (an officer of great promise,) mistrusting his self-love, which might render him blind to his own defects, said one day to a veteran officer, with whose great abilities he was well acquainted : “ If you see me pursuing an error, either in the orders I issue, in the planning or execution of any enterprise, in settling any differences that may arise among the troops, or in any part of my behaviour to my brother officers, I entreat you to tell me of it freely.” Such are the proper and honourable sentiments upon which young military men ought to form themselves for command.

The Prince of Orange having laid siege to Maestricht in 1676, the Commandant of the town no sooner saw it invested than he assembled the principal officers of the garrison: "Gentlemen," said he, "I have served all my life in the cavalry, and have no knowledge of the mode of defending towns; all I know is, that I will never surrender the place: consult among yourselves the best measures for an obstinate and effectual resistance, and I will take care to superintend their execution with as much vigour and perseverance as possible." This noble ingenuousness of the Commandant won the esteem of everybody present: the confidence that he testified in his inferior officers, animated them to the greatest valour; and established in the garrison, by his own brilliant example, a determination and energy of action that saved the town.

✧ Whenever we commit a fault, the best way of repairing it is by confessing it.✧ Turenne, who was indeed a model, of the highest stamp, of military character, acknowledged his errors with that frankness and candour which formed a remarkable and distinguished feature in his fine disposition: and in this he undoubtedly showed himself to be a greater man than if he had not committed any. Ordinary minds, if they find no better means of clearing themselves, endeavour, by specious reasons and pretences, to justify their conduct; while some of a yet baser

nature betake themselves to every kind of subterfuge and deceit, and rather than own themselves wrong, will cast the blame on a friend or companion, reckless of the consequence, provided they can but escape from the immediate difficulty in which they have engaged themselves.* We may say to such men, what Diogenes said to Demosthenes, who, for fear of being discovered at a tavern, hid himself in it: "The further you enter, the deeper are you involved."

A military man ought never to consider himself as excusable for faults which arise from his own want of discretion: those who take refuge in such a resource, are not easily disposed to correct themselves: it is surely more honourable to avow our faults sincerely, than to attempt to excuse or palliate them by still greater errors.

The ambition of every Officer, after making himself perfect in the duties of his particular rank, ought to be, to qualify himself for a higher employment, even to the command of an army: but he must reflect that this honour will prove a severe humiliation to those who are not qualified for it. This rank, so ardently desired, is bounded by the two extremes of glory and disgrace. No one can blame an officer who seeks to render himself capable of high command: his ambition is both laudable and noble, and in studying the art of commanding,

he is at the same time learning that of obedience and of execution. But it is surprising to see officers eagerly aiming at high commands, and at the same time totally neglecting to apply themselves to the study of their profession ; and it is still more astonishing to observe those who are without either experience or acquired knowledge, endeavour after eminent station. A rashness so unfortunâte can proceed only from great ignorance of those attainments which are indispensable to a General, and from a narrow mind, equally incapable of estimating the importance of such a position, or of perceiving the talents and application which it requires, and the difficulties which surround it. Even that indecision which is sometimes produced by the approach of danger, is almost preferable to this fatal assurance ; as it implies at least the knowledge that caution is necessary.

Modesty in a military man gives a grace to all other accomplishments, announcing a prudent mistrust in present attainments, and the desire of pressing onward to further improvement. On the other hand, pride and self-confidence tarnish the most brilliant qualities which an officer may possess. He who boasts of his actions must pay himself with his own applauses, for he deprives others of the opportunity, as well as the wish to praise him. If to this vanity he adds an evident

desire of showing his superiority, the pride of others whom he is by these means seeking to humble, will not fail to avenge itself on such weakness, by aversion and enmity.

One of the most brilliant actions in Queen Anne's wars, next to the great victories of the Duke of Marlborough, was the battle of Wynendahl, commonly known at the time as the "Battle of the Wood." A large convoy was coming to Marlborough's army from Ostend, which the French resolved to intercept, and posted a large force in the woods of Wynendahl for the purpose; but General Webb, who commanded the escort, was so vigilant on his march, that he discovered the ambuscade in good time to make an admirable disposition of his troops, defeated the French who were thrice his number, forced his passage with little loss, and brought his convoy safe into camp, for which he received the thanks and praise of Marlborough. But from that time he could never talk of any other subject, and so continually boasted of his exploit, that he became an object of ridicule in the army, involved himself in quarrels, and eventually retired, in disgust at annoyances, for which he had only to thank his own vanity and conceit. / Real talents and genius are generally modest and unassuming; while, on the contrary, the boaster is ever vain, arrogant, presumptuous, talkative, and disdaining everything but

his own achievements. In vaunting of these his principal view is to compel an esteem to which he is conscious internally of having no legitimate title.

The truly brave man is self-satisfied, and does not need or court the plaudits of the multitude. If he has served his country, and fulfilled the duties of his station, he is content to have done his part, and finds in his own reflections, a higher reward than in the empty sounds of popularity.

Colonel Mahony, of the Irish brigade in the French service, was sent to the court of France, to give an account of the surprise of Cremona, in 1706, where the intrepidity of the Irish saved the town, and where he himself, who commanded one of the battalions of these troops, had performed the most valiant actions of the day, by keeping possession of part of the rampart, long after the Imperialists had entered the town, and holding his post so obstinately, that the French garrison, had time to rally from their first surprise, and drive out Prince Eugene, after he had actually been some time within the walls. In the whole of his narrative, however, he took no notice of the Irish brigade or of himself. When he had finished speaking, the King (Louis XIV.) said to him : " You say nothing to me of the Irish, your brave countrymen." " Sire," replied this intrepid but modest officer, "*they* followed the example of the subjects of your Majesty."

During the seven years' war, a Prussian General had a dangerous defile to pass. On the right rose a steep hill, on the left lay a marsh, and at the end a bridge, the sole outlet of this defile. From the hill, which the enemy had occupied, they harassed the troops, whom the General, with a view of saving the baggage, (part of which belonged to himself,) had left in a defenceless condition. Their ranks were soon broken, and they were hurried in great disorder across the bridge. Zieten, who followed with the rear-guard, perceiving the confusion they were in, flew to the spot; where he found the cannon abandoned, the horses killed, and the artillery-men without ammunition and on the point of surrendering. The officers complained loudly to him of the conduct of their General; Zieten, without making any answer, set about repairing the fault. Supported by the gallant Bulow, who had just collected a small party of infantry, he attacked the enemy, dislodged them from the heights, seized the bridge at the moment when they were going to occupy it, and having taken from the baggage-waggons which had been driven into the marsh, as many horses as were necessary to draw the artillery, thus enabled them to act, and rescued the whole corps. The General Officer who had performed his task so ill, obtained nevertheless all the honours of the expedition. The King, with whom

he was a favourite, publicly congratulated him on his having extricated himself in so able a manner ; while Zeiten and Bulow remained tacitly satisfied with the service which they had rendered, without making the least display of their share in it. From Zieten his friends were never able to learn either the place in which this event happened, or the name of the General who commanded the retreat in so unskilful a manner. It was only in the latter years of his life that this heroic old man mentioned the affair, merely to do justice to the memory of his brother-officer, Bulow.

When an officer has shown intelligence, sagacity, and courage ; when he has taken every precaution that human prudence could suggest ; and when he has evinced neither too great confidence in his own talents, nor indifference to the counsel of others ; his reputation and his glory ought not to depend upon the issue of the combat. But although a Commander is not answerable for events, yet a defeat occasioned by his incapacity, or sometimes perhaps by the jealousy which makes him fear to see a rival sharing his glory, or by the influence of some equally disgraceful sentiment, ought to be more severely punished than is usually the case with such conduct. There is now little doubt that a mean jealousy of Prince Ferdinand was the real cause of Lord George Sackville's reluctance to advance with the cavalry,

and complete the rout of the army of the Marechal de Contades at Minden, in 1757. At the celebrated court martial, by the sentence of which Lord G. was dismissed the service, every effort was made on his part, to prove that he was embarrassed and hampered by the contradictory orders received from the Prince. On the other hand, his enemies (and he was very unpopular in the service) tried to show that he was influenced by personal fear. But this is very improbable, as the enemy were in full retreat, and that is not a moment at which even a coward would betray his alarm.

The whole question of the contradictory orders seems to have been this. One of the Prince's Staff-officers sent with the order desired him to advance *with "the cavalry."* Another, who arrived on the heels of the first, said, "*with the British cavalry,*" and Lord George took advantage of this discrepancy, to send them both back with the inquiry whether he was to move forward *all* the cavalry (there were several foreign regiments) or only the *British*. Meantime the opportunity for charging and completely routing the retreating French infantry was lost, and though the victory was gained, yet its consequences were not near what they ought to have been. Prince Ferdinand, as soon as the action was over, issued a severe order reflecting upon Lord George, and the court-martial appear to have only

done their duty, by dismissing him. Strange it now appears that a man cashiered under such circumstances should afterwards (as Lord George Germaine, a name he took for a fortune,) have held the office of Secretary of State. To such height parties ran at the period, that his great interest, and it must be added, his remarkable talents, enabled him to rise from so fatal a disgrace as dismissal from the army for misconduct before the enemy.

An officer who is capable of reflection, may generally judge whether he deceives himself in regard to his abilities, and his talents for war, by the degree of confidence which he sees others repose in him, and the distinction made between him and his inferiors. It is remarked, that the presumption which has nothing to support itself but strength and courage, is always deficient in prudence, and is at once imbecile and headstrong: errors the more dangerous, as presumption stimulates to the most rash and precipitate enterprises, which obstinacy prevents from being afterward abandoned. Every officer ought to have constantly in his mind the maxim of Homer, that "good advice does as much honour to him who takes as to him who gives it."

The rash and desperate conduct of Marshal Count de Merci, (grandson of him who fell at Nordlingen in 1645,) at the battle of Parma, illustrates the terrible consequences of a proud and obstinate temper

in the Commander of an army. The account is thus given by Mr. Coxe :—

The Emperor Charles IV. was deeply affected with the disastrous state of his affairs in Italy, and directed his first and principal efforts to preserve the important fortress of Mantua. He therefore sent into Lombardy the greater part of the levies drawn from his hereditary dominions, and gave the chief command to Count Merci, the most enterprising of his Generals, with positive orders to undertake offensive operations. In February, 1734, Merci, at the head of six thousand men, hastened to Mantua, and having reconnoitred the position of the Allies, returned to Roveredo, to press the march of the troops, who were assembled in the Tyrol and the Bishopric of Trent. At this critical juncture he was seized with an inflammation in his eyes, which was followed by a stroke of apoplexy, and was reduced to a state of almost total blindness. His intended operations were thus retarded till the beginning of May, when, being convalescent, he put himself at the head of sixty thousand men, and drew towards the Oglio and the Po. The Sardinian troops were posted on both sides of the Oglio, and the French on the southern bank of the Po, from Guastalla beyond Revere. Merci reached the northern bank of the Po, and by a bold and skilful manœuvre, effecting a passage near St. Benedetto, surprised

the French troops, drove them, with the loss of their magazines and baggage, to Parma, and occupied the cities of Guastalla, Novellara, Mirandola, and Reggio. But in the midst of this success, being seized with a return of his complaint, he retired for a short time to Padua, to obtain relief from the physicians of that place.

During his absence, the Austrian Generals whom he left in command of his troops attempted to drive the French from the strong post of Colorno, and to cut off their communication with the Sardinian forces. After a bloody engagement, they succeeded, but were again driven back by the King of Sardinia with considerable loss. The ill success of this enterprise, undertaken without orders, roused the indignation of Count Merci, and he retired in disgust to St. Martin's, where he passed several days in the indulgence of his ill temper. Being at length appeased, he repaired to the camp, resolved to signalise his return by an important enterprise; and from the situation of the allied army, entertained sanguine hopes of success. The King of Sardinia was at Turin, on a visit to his Queen, who was indisposed, and had left orders to undertake no offensive operations until his return. Marshal Villars had also recently quitted the army, in consequence of his advanced age, and the command of the French troops had devolved on Marshal de Coigny,

who was embarrassed with the cabals of Broglio and Maillebois. Eager to avail himself of the embarrassments of the enemy, Merci advanced as far as St. Prospero, halted a few days, and the 28th of June, crossing the Parma south of the city, encamped between that river and the Braganza.

During his approach the allied forces were not inactive. Marshal Coigny, aware of his intentions, had already selected a strong position, which he occupied on the evening of the 28th. His troops were posted along the causeway leading to Placentia; the left wing was flanked by the city of Parma, the right covered by the village of Crocetta, and by morasses which extended to the Tarro. He enlarged the fosses on each side to the depth of above twenty feet, strengthened his position by additional entrenchments and abbatis, and occupied with detachments the Casines scattered on the south of the causeway. This position was skilfully chosen; for the nature of the ground, and the depth of the trenches, rendered the numerous cavalry of the Imperialists totally useless.

On the 29th, in the morning, Merci crossed the Braganza, and leaving Parma to the east, directed his march in two columns to Crocetta. After making a short harangue to his soldiers, he gave the command of the left column to the Prince of Wirtemberg, and at the head of the right, rode within

musket-shot of the causeway. Without waiting for the left column, he ordered two regiments of infantry to begin the attack ; they intrepidly advanced to the foss, and began to fill it with fascines, but were mowed down by the well-directed fire of the enemy, with the loss of their grenadiers ; and most of the officers and men were wounded. Those who survived giving way, Merci ordered other regiments to advance, and these troops being supported by the left column, filled up the ditch with fascines, and even the dead bodies of their companions, and were on the point of carrying the entrenchment. At this moment, Merci was mortally wounded by a musket-shot, and the soldiers, astounded at the loss of their General, and the incessant fire of the enemy, were thrown into the utmost confusion. Being encouraged by the arrival of the Prince of Wirtemberg, who assumed the command, they gained the summit of the causeway, and rushed forward to the second foss, which they filled with the dead bodies of the French and Sardinians. During this carnage, the Prince of Wirtemberg had two horses killed under him, and was obliged to quit the action by a severe contusion. The troops, though left a second time without a chief, fought with incredible fury, and forced the Allies from six successive entrenchments. Here the French made a desperate stand at a farm-house ; and, though driven from it with

great slaughter, recovered possession; and mowed down whole companies of the Imperialists with grape and musket-shot. This dreadful conflict had now lasted ten hours without intermission, when the enemy retired in good order towards the walls of Parma. The Imperialists remained masters of the entrenchments; yet, being without a commander, without provisions, discouraged by their loss, and apprehensive of another attack, fell back towards St. Prospero, and on the following day retreated to Reggio. Thus ended this memorable engagement, in which not less than ten thousand men fell on the field of battle, accompanied with this unparalleled circumstance, that not a prisoner or standard was taken on either side. The Allies lost many of their best generals and officers, and the Imperialists their Commander-in-chief, and seven Generals, with more than three hundred officers, killed and wounded.

Mr. Skinner, the English Consul, who was near the scene of this battle, wrote this striking description to England of what had come under his own notice :—

“ Pray God pardon the Marshal de Merci, who is slain! All the officers that are come to this place from the field, both well and wounded, with one voice cry out upon his conduct; protesting, that they were led to slaughter to no end or purpose, inasmuch that they affirm, the whole army would have

been sacrificed, had it not been for the bravery of the Grenadiers, who by their death, saved the rest from destruction. In fact, no one can commend the disposition of the order of battle made by him. Perhaps it was never heard of, that when there was a strong entrenchment to be forced, the cannon should be left behind. But he has paid for his mis-carriages, though with the loss of the bravest men that his Imperial Majesty had in his camp.”—

Gustavus Adolphus was a pattern of modesty in a great man. After he had captured the town of Marienberg in 1627, he was attacked suddenly in his camp of Dirschau, by the Polish forces. The Swedish cavalry gallantly charged the assailants, but were in their turn driven back by a large body of Polish Cavalry, and it was some time before the day was decided in favour of the Swedes. On this occasion, as the King was observing anxiously the turn which the action was beginning to take from an eminence in the field, he was struck by a falconet shot on the elbow, and obliged to leave the completion of the victory to his Generals. After the affair was over, Oxenstiern and the chief officers of the army came to him in a body, to entreat that he would not thus rashly expose a life so useful to the world and so dear to his soldiers and subjects. Convinced of their attachment, he told them (says Harte) with emotion and modesty, but a certain degree also of firmness—

That the Divine Power would continue just the same when he was gone; nor did he suppose himself so indispensably necessary to the welfare of his kingdom as they, from a kind prepossession in his favour, were inclined to imagine. "Since," said he, "if the Supreme Being should be pleased to dispose of me in the day of battle, He will doubtless raise up some abler support to the crown of Sweden. But," continued he, "if that same Being has committed this important charge to me, it is my business to perform it, without any favouring of myself, and if death be my portion in war, how can a King die more gloriously than in defence of his people?"

One would almost suppose from this speech that he foresaw the fate which awaited him, at Lutzen.

A truly brilliant example of true modesty in a young soldier is to be found in the narrative of the conduct of our own celebrated "Black Prince," after the capture of John, King of France, at the battle of Poitiers, (in 1356,) certainly one of the greatest and most complete victories of that chivalrous and warlike period.

Hume gives a most animated account of it, taking, of course, his principal facts from the interesting chronicle of Froissart, and following his simple and plain narrative, thus details the transaction which took place after the termination of the conflict and surrender of the King.

The Prince of Wales, who had been carried away in pursuit of the flying enemy, finding the field entirely clear, had ordered a tent to be pitched, and was reposing himself after the toils of battle ; inquiring still, with great anxiety, concerning the fate of the French monarch. He despatched the Earl of Warwick to bring him intelligence ; and that nobleman came happily in time to save the life of the captive Prince, which was exposed to greater danger than it had been during the heat of the action. The English had taken him by violence from Morbec, the knight to whom he had surrendered ; the Gascons claimed the honour of detaining the royal prisoner : and some brutal soldiers, rather than yield the prize to their rivals, had threatened to put him to death. Warwick overawed both parties, and approaching the King with great demonstrations of respect, offered to conduct him to the Prince's tent.

Here commences the real and truly admirable heroism of Edward : for victories are vulgar things in comparison of that moderation and humanity displayed by a young Prince of twenty-seven years of age, not yet cooled from the fury of battle, and elated by as extraordinary and as unexpected success as had ever crowned the arms of any Commander. He came forth to meet the captive King with all the marks of regard and sympathy ; administered com-

fort to him amidst his misfortunes ; paid him the tribute of praise due to his valour ; and ascribed his own victory merely to the blind chance of war, or to a superior Providence, which controls all the efforts of human force and prudence. The behaviour of John showed him not unworthy of this courteous treatment : his present abject fortune never made him forget a moment that he was a king. More touched by Edward's generosity than by his own calamities, he confessed, that, notwithstanding his defeat and captivity, his honour was still unimpaired ; and that if he yielded the victory, it was at least gained by a Prince of consummate valour and humanity.

Edward ordered a repast to be prepared in his tent for the prisoner ; and he himself served at the royal captive's table, as if he had been one of his retinue : he stood at the King's back during the meal ; constantly refused to take a place at table ; and declared, that, being a subject, he was too well acquainted with the distance between his own rank and that of royal majesty to assume such freedom.

All his father's pretensions to the crown of France were now buried in oblivion : John, in captivity, received the honours of a King, which were refused him when seated on the throne : his misfortunes, not his title, were respected ; and the French prisoners, conquered by this elevation of mind, more

than by their late discomfiture, burst into tears of admiration; which were only checked by the reflection, that such genuine and unaltered heroism in an enemy must certainly in the issue prove but the more dangerous to their native country. *

/ Pride is a defect natural to all men, and there is no affection of the mind so much blended in human nature, and wrought into our very constitution. It appears under a multitude of disguises, and breaks out in a thousand different symptoms. Every one is in some degree conscious of it himself, and yet wonders to see it in his neighbour.

If we had no pride ourselves, says a certain writer, we should not perceive it in others. This failing arises from want of due consideration, and from not having a proper knowledge of ourselves. Hence those who are too eager for applause, usually have recourse to unjust means to obtain it. If the proud man would take sufficient pains to examine his own heart, he would presently discern that, were others as well acquainted with its weaknesses as he himself is, he could never have the assurance to aspire after the public approbation. The surest method of judging rightly of our merits, is to analyze closely what we esteem in ourselves, and what we condemn in others. Let any man boast, in our presence, of his riches, his illustrious birth, his talents, reputation, or valour, we should think him ridiculous.

We ought not then to respect that in ourselves which we condemn in another.

To be in perpetual fear that others should not know our worth ; to boast of our own achievements ; to applaud only ourselves, and speak ill of others ; these are unequivocal indications of littleness of mind. Whatever be the real merit of such a character, or whatever the glory it may have acquired, this is tarnished by such vanity : and the world, who are always more inclined to blame than to applaud, will soon be persuaded that the virtues which require so much emblazoning cannot be solid.

True greatness of mind is far from disdaining the public esteem ; but as it is independent of the opinion of others, it is nobly above the censures and the applauses of the multitude. The man who is irreproachable in his conduct, and regardless of the good or ill reported of him, pursues his career undaunted, and despises the obstacles which envy opposes to his progress. Some would term this noble independence, pride ; but it is a far different quality ; it is an heroic indifference, it is the dignified consciousness of virtue : the man of true honour, armed with this assurance, (which is no other than the capacity of doing and of saying everything without emotion and without fear, arising from conscious rectitude,) is little anxious whether his actions be well or ill interpreted. He appeals to his ~~own~~

breast, and enjoys the satisfaction to which he aspires.

As no man ever raised himself to a high military reputation more entirely by his own merit and talent, so no one was more free from pride and vain glory than the illustrious Prince Eugene. His manners were perfectly plain, his modesty quite unaffected, and so great an aversion had he to anything like deceit, that his first reception of a stranger was often cold and reserved, merely from a fear of encouraging any expectation which might not be realized. But he was a friendly warm-hearted man, and it was the congenial feeling between Marlborough and him, arising from a total absence of pride and jealousy in both of them, that created that harmony of purpose which rendered them doubly formidable when acting in concert at the head of the allied troops. Eugene was about thirteen years younger than Marlborough, (he was born in 1663,) and always showed him that deference which he sincerely felt for his consummate ability and judgment, though at the time of their first joint triumph in the field, namely, the campaign of Blenheim, in 1704, Eugene, by his splendid victory over the Turks at Zenta, in 1697, and other famous actions in Piedmont and Italy, had acquired a fame throughout Europe which might have made a less wise and high-minded man impatient of the presence and control of any rival in glory. But he had

already displayed in a remarkable manner the moderation and disinterested tone of his mind on occasions of the shameful treatment he had met with after his glorious and complete defeat of the Turks at Zenta. On the miserable pretence that he had engaged the enemy without orders from the ministry, the intrigues of a contemptible cabal of courtiers induced the Emperor Leopold to have him arrested on his return to Vienna, with all his laurels fresh upon his brow. On this extraordinary fact becoming known through the City, the burghers and inhabitants assembled in crowds, asking with indignation and astonishment, "Is this the return made by our Emperor to the hero who has saved Vienna and our country from the horrors of Turkish invasion?" They flocked about the palace of Eugene, and sent to tell him they were ready to shed their blood for his protection. "Accept," replied the illustrious Prince, "my sincere thanks; but I entreat of you to disperse; I desire no other warrant for my safety than the uprightness of my conduct, and the few services I have been able to render to the Emperor. His Majesty is too enlightened not to distinguish truth from calumny, and too equitable not to do me justice when the matter is explained."

The event proved as he foresaw; the Emperor, when made aware that he could not have avoided a battle without disgrace and danger, restored him to

favour when his enemies were most elated at his apparent ruin: and in answer to those who still pressed him to cite Eugene before the Council of War for having ventured to fight contrary to orders, declared he would never treat as a criminal a Prince through whom Heaven had bestowed on him favours which his own merits had never deserved; and from that moment treated him with respect and kindness, creating him President of the Council of War, and consigning to him the whole management of military affairs, which he so conducted, both in Italy and Germany, as to add strength, lustre, and dignity, to the imperial cause.

But it is not only among great men we are to look either for instances of the merit of true modesty, or the evils which spring from the absence of this amiable quality. Modesty in any rank of life is essential to a military character.

During the seven years' war, a cornet in the King of Prussia's army, having by a most gallant exploit attracted his notice on the field of battle, the King gave him a military cross, and named him a captain on the spot. This young man, who afterwards displayed considerable talents in his profession, being at that time very deficient in education and experience, was so intoxicated with his good-fortune as not to know how to receive it with moderation. Without waiting to be informed in what corps he was to ex-

ercise his new rank, he began by declaring to the lieutenant that he was now at the head of his troop, and that he (the lieutenant) must give place to him and receive his orders. The lieutenant, who was well acquainted with the service, and rigid on points of subordination, refused to consider him in any other light than that of his cornet. The new-created captain was much enraged at this opposition ; yet put off all further discussion till after the battle, when the business terminated in a duel. Fortune now abandoned her favourite, and he was severely wounded. For the purpose of facilitating his cure, he was charged with a dispatch to Berlin, where his irregularities in a short time became the subject of complaint, and forced his Colonel to represent to the King, that it would be proper to suspend his new commission for awhile, and to degrade him to his former rank. His Majesty, in compliance with the Colonel's advice, gave immediate orders that, for the present, the young officer must content himself with his cross ; and to regain his rank, must wait his turn, and the favourable report of the officer under whose command he was serving.

This judicious punishment had in a short time its desired effect ; the young man, who had a fine spirit, became quite aware of the folly of his behaviour, and obtaining the good opinion of his superior officer, resumed his suspended rank, and rose by his

subsequent merit and bravery to a high rank in the Prussian service.

It is not only in a military command that modesty is required ; but in society, and in every situation of life. The most insupportable of all members of society is the arrogant youth who, presumptuous and conceited, raises his voice above others, speaks confidently on all subjects, and decides on everything. He who ought only to listen, says a certain author, but who is continually prating, evinces, independently of what he utters, that he is either a coxcomb, or a pretender to qualities which he does not possess ; but if what he says be not worth hearing, he is at once a blockhead, a fool, and a coxcomb together.

The young man who seeks to give the tone to a company, takes the most certain means to make himself ridiculed. If he be wise, he will listen attentively ; speak little, and to the purpose ; take pleasure in hearing persons of experience ; questioning what they may advance only with a view to enlarge his own information, and thanking them for their instructions ; cultivating the society of such men ; and make it his study to profit by them.

It is a mere waste of time to dispute with persons who are headstrong and ignorant; two defects which commonly accompany each other. Fools are a sort of men with whom the wisest must not expect to be right; it is indeed, with them, a folly to have understanding. By a fool is not meant so much him who is continually committing blunders; but him who, having erred, does not perceive his error, and consequently seeks no means to repair it.

No man can have lived much in the world without perceiving that to be agreeable in society, it is not necessary to possess brilliant parts: this consists more in giving to others an opportunity of exhibiting their own, and you may then rest assured that every body will be satisfied with yours. Instead of aiming to show your wit, study rather to correct your faults, to conceal those of others, or to profit by them. "Not to discern capital failings," says a spirited writer, "is to want understanding; to make our discernment of them too evident, is to want feeling and politeness; and not to profit by them, is to want judgment."

In short, modesty is a quality which generally accompanies true merit: it engages and captivates those who come within its influence; as, on the other hand, nothing is more disgusting than presumption and impudence. We cannot be pleased with a man who is always commending and speaking well of

himself, and who is the hero of his own story. But a man who never endeavours to display his own merit; who sets that of other people in its true light; who speaks but little of himself, and with modesty: such a man makes a favourable impression on the understanding of his hearers, and acquires their love and esteem.

ESSAY IX.

VANITY AND INDISCRETION.

THERE is a species of vanity or false glory, which though both dangerous and ridiculous, is too common among young military men; the wish to be distinguished for expense and display.* He that has money, and whom therefore our present degeneracy of manners places sometimes above his proper level, fancies that he cannot maintain his consequence but in making a brilliant display of his wealth. He supposes that the public proportions its respect and esteem to the greater or less extent of this display; and every day he hears it said, that such a one makes a great figure, and lives in style, without reflecting how little these lofty expressions contain. Young men would do well to remember, however, that this object of admiration is commonly the man,

beyond all others, the least qualified for the army ; that he who makes what is called a figure, is no other than a spendthrift, who ruins both his health and his fortune ; and that he who lives, as it is termed, in style, has frequently recourse to means the most unpleasant to support this appearance. A young officer without wisdom or experience, thinks he shall be despised if he does not pursue the same course as his comrades ; and this ridiculous apprehension plunges him into expense and discomfort. Luxury, extreme fondness for dress, unnecessary display of equipage, are evidences only of vanity, and can confer consequence in the eyes of none of those whose good opinion is worth acquiring. What folly can be compared to that of ruining ourselves for the sake of appearance ? This is to purchase, at a desperate rate, the contempt of our comrades. After an ostentation, as short as it is ridiculous, and transient as it is false, these unhappy victims of their own errors must be content to fall into oblivion, without any consoling recollections under their misfortunes.

We see, indeed, too many instances of young men who, with the best natural disposition and character, yield to the seductive influence of example. They do that at first from weakness and good-tempered compliance, which their better feelings disapprove ; and unhappily are often brought to the same ruin as those whom they have foolishly set up for their

models. A young officer, on first entering his corps, cannot exercise too much caution in guarding against those snares, which are the more dangerous from being represented to him as customs that can no way be dispensed with. Xenophon was accused of timidity, because he would not venture his money at play. "I confess," he acknowledged, "I am very timid; for I dare not commit a bad action." Of any one who does not possess this firmness there is little to hope, either from his natural disposition, his education, or even his rectitude. How many young men have joined the army, impressed with excellent principles, and, from yielding to the love of display, have from the very first steps of their career, rapidly fallen into difficulties, which have at last driven them from the society of their friends, and forced them out of a profession to which they might have become an ornament !

There is another species of folly which a young man, especially one who is full of life and spirits, is apt to fall into. It is the habit of boasting and exaggeration, which they reckon innocent, and which in one sense is so, for it hurts nobody but themselves. This is the spurious offspring of vanity and folly. These young gentlemen deal in the marvellous; they have seen some things that never existed; they assert that they have seen other things which they never saw though they did exist. If anything

remarkable has been said or done in any place, they immediately declare themselves witnesses of it. They have done feats unattempted, or at least unperformed, by any others. A boaster of this description is always the hero of his own romances; he has been in dangers from which nobody but himself ever escaped; he has seen whatever other people have heard or read of; he has ridden more miles in one day, than ever courier went in two. He is soon, however, discovered, and as soon becomes the object of ridicule: and not without a degree of distrust: for his hearers naturally conclude, that he who will exaggerate from idle vanity, will not scruple telling a falsehood for interest.

There is an anecdote of a young officer in King William's army in Flanders, who was once relating that he was the first who mounted the breach of a certain town, at the siege of which his regiment was present. Another officer, who heard this assertion patiently and without interruption, said to him, "What you have advanced respecting the occurrences that passed at this siege, greatly surprises me: and if what you say were true, you should have been dead long ago; for I was only the seventh that mounted that breach, and I am confident that all those who ascended before me were killed." The first officer was immediately known for an empty boaster, and the second was known to have ad-

verted to his own exploit with no other view than to teach him who had so unjustly falsified events, to relate them as they actually occurred, and not to boast of a merit which did not belong to him.

Indiscretions of speech are the causes of much annoyance, and often of disgrace, to those who have not the sense to check themselves in so bad and dangerous a defect. Secrets in which you have no personal interest, endeavour to forget as soon as communicated to you. If you confide matters of importance to persons of whose discretion you are not fully assured, you will be compelled to exercise perpetual caution toward them, and to be ever on your guard, lest by any means you should give them offence ; so that, in all your future intercourse with these persons, you will experience a constant uneasiness. If you have a friend in whose confidence you think you can fully rely, (which is however a rare case,) and whom you think proper to entrust with secrets, tell him your own ; but never those of others : these are sacred deposits, which you can on no pretence whatever be justified in betraying.

There is an anecdote on record of the remarkable discretion of General Monk, who so mainly contributed to the restoration of Charles II. Hume gives this narrative of it. (Hume, chap. lxii. year 1659.)

“ Sir John Granville, hoping that the General

would engage in the King's service, sent into Scotland his younger brother, a clergyman, Dr. Monk, who carried him a letter and invitation from the King. When the doctor arrived, he found that his brother was then holding a council of officers, and was not to be seen for some hours. In the meantime, he was received and entertained by Price, the General's Chaplain, a man of probity, as well as a partizan of the King's. The Doctor, having an entire confidence in the Chaplain, talked very freely to him about the object of his journey, and engaged him, if there should be occasion, to second his applications. At last the General arrives; the brothers embrace; and, after some preliminary conversation, the Doctor opens his business. Monk interrupted him, to know whether he had ever before to anybody mentioned the subject. 'To nobody,' replied his brother, 'but to Price, whom I know to be entirely in your confidence.' The General, altering his countenance, turned the discourse, and would enter into no further confidence with him, but sent him away with the first opportunity. He would not trust his own brother the moment he knew that he had disclosed the secret, though to a man whom he himself could have trusted." *

* Lord Lansdowne's defence of General Monk.

One of the ancients has said, that a man ought to live with his enemy as if he were one day to become his friend ; and with his friend in such a way that, if he one day become his enemy, it may not be in his power to do him injury. This maxim, which is perfectly prudent in regard to the first point, is false and detestable in the second ; since an adherence to it would deprive us of one of the greatest pleasures of our lives, that of communicating freely with old and true friends. We ought, therefore, to consider this part of the maxim as merely an injunction to exercise caution in our intercourse with the world in general.

In 1630, when Gustavus Adolphus was preparing for the siege of the city of Gartz, in Pomerania, which place, as well as Griffenhagen, the Duke of that principality had besought him to free from the Imperial garrisons, a Swedish colonel had formed a design, approved by the King, to take one of the outworks by surprise. In order to obtain the best advice and suggestions, he had, without proper reserve and secrecy, imparted his project to several other officers of his acquaintance. By some accident or treachery or heedlessness the secret took vent, and the garrison being prepared for the attack, gave him a very unexpected reception, and after beating him off, followed him in pursuit with a superior force.

However, he made his retreat like a man who understood the fighting part of his business well, and capturing two standards in the conflict, presented them to the King. Gustavus appreciated his gallantry, but nevertheless received them with a certain air of dissatisfaction, observing to some of his generals who stood about him, that this success in the Colonel's retreat, and the bravery with which he had conducted it, could by no means justify a commander who had not power to lock up a military secret in his own breast.

There is another species of discretion, not less necessary, though more difficult to acquire: it is discretion in conduct; which is the fruit only of reflection and experience. Of all qualities this is perhaps the most useful, and gives an increased value to every other.

"Discretion," it has been well observed, "does not only show itself in words but in all the circumstances of action; and is like an under-agent of Providence to guide and direct us in the ordinary concerns of life. There are many more shining qualities in the mind of man, but there is none so useful as discretion; it is this indeed which gives a value to all the rest, which sets them at work in their proper times and places, and turns them to the advantage of the person who is possessed of them.

Without it, learning is pedantry, and wit impertinence; virtue itself looks like weakness; the best parts only qualify a man to be more sprightly in errors, and active to his own prejudice. Nor does discretion give a man the mastery and advantage of his own talents alone. The discreet man finds out the capacities and qualities of those he converses with, and knows how to apply them to proper uses. Accordingly if we look into particular communities, and divisions of men, we may observe that it is the discreet man, not the witty, nor the learned, nor the brave, who guides the conversation, and gives manner to the society. A man with great talents, but void of discretion, is like Polyphemus in the fable, strong and blind, endued with an irresistible force which for want of sight is of no use to him. Though a man has all other perfections, and wants discretion, he will be of no great consequence in the world; but if he has this single quality in perfection, and but a common share of others, he may do what he pleases in his particular station of life."

This discretion, the usual companion of wisdom and of modesty, always evinces a sound judgment. By means of this we acquire that quick and accurate discernment, which assists us in all our actions and conversation, and which, moreover, has the great merit of effectually preventing us from offering anything that may irritate or offend. It is this which

enables us to enter into the character of others : which shows us the most certain means of bringing them to adopt our views and opinions, without hurting their own, and procures to us the esteem and respect of all around us.

The man who possesses discretion, is neither vain nor ostentatious : he represses the first emotions of anger, he bridles the impetuosity of his nature, and makes the best of difficulties or disappointments, which he perceives he cannot avoid.

Though of an impetuous and hasty disposition, the great Gustavus possessed a remarkable discretion in humouring and managing those who served in his army, under the most trying circumstances.

Harte describes a remarkable instance of his judgment after the capture of the Castle of Marienberg, the citadel of the rich and flourishing City of Wurzburg, in Franconia. Shortly after his great victory of Leipsic he had by a rapid march advanced through the enemy's country, receiving submission from all the towns on the line of his movement until he reached this important place. Wurzburg itself being but badly fortified attempted no defence, but Colonel Keller, a brave and experienced officer in command of some troops quartered there, threw himself into the citadel, and determined on a bold resistance. Gustavus immediately commenced his preparations for a regular assault, but was spared that trouble by the following

occurrence, which shall be given in the quaint words of the historian himself.

“ In the midst of the besiegers’ preparations, and about half-an-hour before the general attack, a Swedish lieutenant, born of Scottish parents, with only seven followers, for what reason is hard to guess, approached in the dark to the drawbridge, which leads into the outer court of the castle, wherein were lodged two hundred Imperialists. Being challenged, according to the word of the night, and asked who his party were, he replied abruptly and naturally, without any scheme or foresight, ‘ that they were Swedes ;’ from whence one may be induced to imagine that he had never prepared himself to answer such sort of questions, being a hero better calculated for blows than dialogue. Upon this, the officer who commanded the party within, attempted immediately to draw up the bridge, but the Lief-lander jumped upon it with an extraordinary effort of activity, and his companions followed him, in consequence whereof the enemy took a sudden panic, which darkness contributed to increase, and fell back in confusion, supposing great numbers to be rushing in. The Lieutenant now cried aloud to a body of Swedes stationed nearest the castle, and thus the outward court was secured in an instant.

“ Of course the fortress was now as it were taken, yet the King, who had always an abhorrence of

bloodshed and tumultuous murder, made fresh signals of accommodation to the garrison, but Colonel Keller continued inflexible to the last. Some hundred Imperialists threw away their lives with uncommon obstinacy, till at length the Swedes in a rage began to cry ‘Magdeburg quarter! Magdeburg quarter!’ and to kill all who resisted.

“ Among the dead were found about twenty friars who had occasionally taken up the pike and musket. The Commander Keller was taken prisoner by Colonel Torstenson, who generously protected him; nevertheless, it was made a condition that he should discover a certain ‘secret vault hewn into the rock, where treasures both in plate and money were known to be concealed, for great part of the wealth of the diocese of Wurtzburg was here deposited, as also the sum which the Elector of Bavaria had sent to Tilly in order to repair his shattered army after his defeat at Leipsic. There was also corn and provision, and a very large quantity of lime. An Equerry belonging to the Bishop made full discoveries, and amongst other things gave information of a certain coffer well filled with ducats, which Gustavus conceived a thought of appropriating to his own purse; but its weight on the removal burst out the bottom, and as the soldiers cast longing eyes on these glittering reliques, and began to pick them up for their master’s use, with a private view to secrete here and

there a few for themselves, the King made a merit of necessity, and said with a loud laugh, 'I see plainly it must be so. Let the rogues convert them all to their own property.' Wisely preferring to conciliate his men on such an occasion, to attempting to carry his object, by a forcible recourse to the power of discipline."

One of the most mischievous members of society is the man who is born without discretion, but with a talent for sarcasm, satire, and raillery: the wounds given by his tongue, like those of a poisoned dart, are almost always incurable; and they are unhappily too often directed against those who ought to be most exempt from such injuries. Virtues, talents, merit, all that is most entitled to ^{the} applause, become subjects of pleasantry to men of this description. Let no such man flatter himself with the hope of possessing a real friend. Who would open his heart to the companion that is watching every moment to betray him, and is so little scrupulous, that when truth will not supply food for his pleasantries, calumny is resorted to for that purpose?

The spirit of raillery in some men partakes perhaps less of the character of malice than of vanity. To utter a *bon mot* is the height of their intellectual ambition, and they will not miss an opportunity of

this sort, though at the expence of subjecting themselves to a charge of malignity; and indeed many an ill-natured jest escapes them, from mere habit, in spite of themselves, for which their heart, if indeed they have hearts at all, afterward bitterly reproaches them.

The raillery which proceeds from the vain desire of applause, seldom fails to create contempt; and nothing wounds the self-love of men so much as attacks of this nature. Injuries are much oftener forgiven than insult and ridicule.

No injury makes so deep an impression on persons of sensibility and bashfulness as that which is produced by a cutting malicious jest. Raillery in conversation, therefore, is no longer agreeable than while the whole company is pleased with it; and should never be used but with regard to failings of so little consequence, that the person concerned may himself be merry on the subject. They who have a true relish for conversation, enjoy themselves in a frindly contest of raillery so long as it does not assume the character of an attack on their mutual imperfections.

The temptation of saying smart or witty things, and the malicious applause with which they are commonly received, have made people who can say them,—and still oftener people who think they



can,—more enemies, and more implacable ones too, than any other cause of enmity. When such things shall happen to be said at his expense, a sensible man will reflect seriously on the sentiments of uneasiness, anger, and resentment, which they excite in him ; and consider whether it can be prudent, by the same means, to excite these sentiments in others. It is a decided folly to lose a friend for a jest ; but it is not a much less degree of folly to make an enemy of an indifferent and neutral person, for the sake of a witty display. When things of this kind happen to be said of you, the most prudent way is, to seem not to apprehend that they are meant of you, and to avoid showing whatever degree of vexation you may feel inwardly : but should they be so plain that you cannot be supposed ignorant of their meaning, join in the laugh of the company against yourself ; acknowledge the merit and wit of the joke, and take the whole thing in good humour. To reply in the same strain only shows that you are hurt, and publishes the victory that you might have concealed.

Raillery exercised upon an inferior, is generally cruel ; and mean and cowardly toward such as are unable to repel the shafts which it has thrown ; but it is atrocious and brutal, when it falls on natural defects or secret foibles. There is however a species



of gay and amusing raillery, whose brilliancy offends no one, and often delights even such as may be the objects of it ; but this talent requires the finest and most delicate tact, and above all, it must be seen to flow naturally from joyousness of spirit, and to be totally free from conceit and ill-nature.

All great minds pride themselves in a contempt of calumny. Mecenas told Augustus, that if the reports propagated against him were not true, the contempt with which they were treated by him would entirely discredit them ; while, on the contrary, should he manifest any uneasiness respecting them, it would give them the air and importance of truth, and thus put it in the power of the basest of men to trouble his repose.

Titus used to say of injurious reports, “ If I do nothing that is reprehensible, why should I be rendered uneasy by calumny ? ”

When Frederic of Prussia was told that a person had abused him, he asked the informer whether his enemy had an army of a hundred thousand men. “ No, Sire,” replied the courtier. “ Then,” said Frederic, “ I can have nothing to do with him. If he had a powerful army at his command, I would declare war against him.”

The Duke of Savoy, when disputing with Henry the Fourth for the marquisate of Saluces, caused a

considerable fort to be erected at Barreaux, of which no one could discern the utility ; because Montmelian, which was not far off, sufficiently covered the country, and afforded every possible facility that could be desired for the passes into Dauphiny. It was conjectured, by the noise which he caused to be made of this enterprize throughout Italy, that he had been influenced only by the glory of raising a fort on French ground, in sight of the French army. The General of the latter nation was universally condemned among his officers, for suffering such an insult ; and this disposition presently extended itself to the court. “ Your Majesty,” returned he, coolly, to a communication from the King on this point, “ has need of a strong fortification to overawe the garrison of Montmelian ; and since the Duke of Savoy is willing to be at the expense of this, I had no inclination to interrupt him in erecting it. As soon as it is completely furnished with guns and ammunition, it shall become your Majesty’s, without the cost of building.” Henry felt the justice of this idea, and the General performed his promise, by seizing the new fort as soon as finished.

Turenne, on his return from his brilliant campaign in Westphalia, received from Louis the Fourteenth the most distinguished attentions. The King, who was usually sparing of his commendation, on this occasion was lavish in his

praises ; telling him, among other things, that the Marquis of St. Arbre should no longer serve under him, because in his letters to the Minister, he had blamed some of the General's measures. "Why did he not address himself to me?" said Turenne. "I should have listened to him with pleasure, and might probably have profited by his advice." He then excused, and even commended, the conduct of Saint Arbre ; and obtained for him preferment, with a promise that he should not be deprived of an officer of such distinguished merit.

If any one affirms that he has heard things of you which demand satisfactory explanation, and of such a nature that it is indispensable for you to require it, either treat this informer with contempt, or require a full and immediate explanation from him, in preference to seeking it, perhaps in vain, elsewhere. By these means you will probably impose silence on one who wished to speak ill of you ; you will save a friend, where you might have found an enemy, in refusing to believe what had been falsely reported ; and you will rid yourself of a perfidious companion, such as no man of honour would desire to have any connexion with.

This essay cannot be better concluded than by some admirable remarks of a well-known author on this subject.

"A man who in ordinary life is very inquisitive

after everything which is spoken ill of him, passes his time very indifferently. He is wounded by every arrow that is shot at him, and puts it in the power of every insignificant enemy to disquiet his mind. Nay, he will suffer from what he hears has been said of him, when it is forgotten by those who said it. For this reason I could never bear one of those officious friends that would be telling every malicious report, every idle censure passed upon me. The tongue of man is so petulant, and his thoughts so variable, that one should not lay too great a stress upon any present speeches and opinions. Praise and obloquy poured very often out of the same mouth upon the same person and upon the same occasion. A generous enemy will sometimes bestow commendations, as the dearest friend cannot sometimes refrain from speaking ill of you."

"It is observed of great and heroic minds, that they have not only shown a particular disregard to those unmerited reproaches which have been cast upon them, but have been altogether free from that curiosity of inquiring after them, or the poor revenge of resenting them."

ESSAY X.

ON FRIENDSHIP AND GRATITUDE.

WE can never be too careful in making choice of a friend : want of discrimination in this point may be attended with the most serious consequences. A friend incautiously selected, may lead us into errors, from which it may be impossible to extricate ourselves, and his imprudence, his levity, or his folly, may occasion us the most severe mortifications.

The first rule in the choice of a friend is, not to love him before you know him well. Almost at first sight we may judge if a man be of quick or slow parts, if he be gay or serious, talkative or reserved, witty or stupid ; we see all this in his countenance, in his manners, and in his discourse : but we cannot so easily discover whether he has sincerity and probity of character. It requires more time to be certain

with regard to these points ; and till we are as well assured of them as it is possible for us to be, we ought not too hastily to bestow upon him, from mere appearances, the estimable title of friend. Are we at last convinced that he deserves it ? then let there be no reserve ; we may safely enter with him into an intercourse of sentiments, of tastes, pleasures, and interests.

No one is exempt from faults : we all have them more or less, trivial or important. Let us then, in the first instance, examine most diligently those of the person whom we desire to take for our friend ; that we may be able to form our opinion whether they are such as we can bear with. But after the connexion is once formed, such a scrutiny becomes no longer seasonable.

As it is one of the first duties of friendship to give counsel where it may be of use, dare even to displease a friend by telling him the truth :—but be careful not to offend by the temper and manner with which you express it : and remember, that all seasons are not equally proper for admonitions of this nature ; wait therefore till a favourable moment presents itself. But while you are secretly striving to correct the faults of your friend, be his strenuous defender in public, and do not suffer his reputation to be suspected on any occasion.

One of the principal advantages of friendship, is

the assistance of good advice ; but the greatest is, when we find a friend who may be both the judge and the model of our conduct ; for we always desire the esteem of him we love, and this leads us to imitate the good qualities by which that esteem may be acquired. There is no stronger security for our own worth, nor for the confidence which others repose in us, than a friend entitled to our respect. We cannot endure to appear imperfect in his eyes. We see also the impossibility of association between virtue and vice ; and we are uneasy at living with a judge who, we know, will severely censure us if we deserve it. Whatever be our good sense, we have need of a guide on many occasions. We ought to mistrust our own opinions, whenever it is likely that these may be dictated by our passions. A friend who takes a real interest in our happiness and our welfare and who is capable no less of leading, than of reproving and correcting us, is a real treasure.

In the somewhat harsh, but noble and generous character of the celebrated Lord Clive, there was a strong and predominant disposition to the cultivation of friendship, and to the exercise of gratitude. It was remarked of him, by those who knew him best, that he never forgot in his prosperity a single instance of kindness he had received in the days when he was merely an obscure adventurer. Mr. Gleig tells us, for instance :

“ His old friend and brother-in-law, Captain Maskelyn, seems to have made no figure as a soldier, yet Clive, though he would not promote him to places he was unequal to fill, added £10,000 to his savings, and sent him to England with a competence for life. To Mr. Chauncey, a gentleman of no note, but who having been connected with the India Company, was instrumental in procuring for Clive his first appointment as a writer, the letters of this successful Commander are full of thanks and gratitude. ‘ If I have been any way instrumental in the late revolution,’ he says, writing to this worthy man about the overthrow of Suraj u Dowlah, the merit is entirely owing to you, who countenanced, favoured, and protected me, and was the chief cause of my coming to India in a station which rendered me capable of serving the Company. Accept, sir, of my gratitude and sincerest wishes for your welfare. May you enjoy the blessings of peace and retirement, and may success and every other happiness in this life forsake me, when I forget how much I am obliged to you.” There is no affectation here: it is the strong natural language of the heart; and as long as the fame of Lord Clive exists, so long ought this fine quality of gratitude to be reckoned as one of his remarkable merits.

Nor was it the least advantage of his friendship, that he never hesitated to give admonition

where he deemed it to be of service. Mr. Middleton, a civil officer of high station at Calcutta, for whom he had a great regard, had incurred the censure of the authorities for having shown a deficiency of proper energy and diligence in carrying on the duties of his office. Middleton thought himself badly used, and sent in a strong remonstrance, accompanied by a private letter to Lord Clive, by way of explanation of his supposed grievance. Lord Clive, after a long and sensible admonition in answer to this, concludes his letter with a dignified and truly friendly representation of his error, coupled with a sound piece of advice for the future guidance of his conduct. He wrote "To set aside the Governor and speak as a friend, I entertain no doubt of the integrity of your intentions, and of your zeal for the service; but you are naturally of an indolent, good-natured, hospitable disposition, which in private life, may make you beloved by all who know you; yet in a public station, these qualities may subject you to the greatest inconvenience. You become responsible to the public, not only for your own want of attention, but for the neglect of those acting under you, who will perpetually trespass on your good nature. The indulgence shown by you to the young gentlemen of the Factory, of which I am myself an eye-witness, must have this consequence, of their becoming very familiar, which in your pre-

sent station they ought not to be ; of being very supine and very neglectful of the Company's business, in which your own reputation is more immediately concerned. And I wish the mischief may only end here ; after having led so luxurious, extravagant, and independent a life, there will be much to fear for themselves, after your departure."

"The open manner in which you have expressed your sentiments and grievances, gives me a right to send you mine in return, which I do assure you proceeds from real friendship, and regard for the interest of those who are acting under you. Perhaps they may not be looked upon in that light by these young men. If so, I only hope future experience may not convince them to the contrary."

At the battle of Philippi, when Brutus, after the defeat of his army, was in danger of falling into the hands of his enemies, his bosom-briend Lucilius gave him an opportunity to escape : calling out, "I am Brutus ; lead me to Antony." Being accordingly conducted to Antony, he spoke with great resolution : "I have employed this artifice," said he, "that Brutus might not fall alive into the hands of his enemies. The gods will never permit that fortune shall triumph so far over virtue. In spite of fortune, Brutus will always be found, living or dead, in a situation worthy of his courage." Antony, admiring the firmness of Lucilius, said to him,

"You merit a greater reward than it is in my power to bestow. I have just been informed of the death of Brutus; and as your fidelity to him is now at an end, I beg earnestly to be received in his place; love me as you loved him; I wish no more." Struck with the generosity of this address, Lucilius engaged himself to Antony; and maintaining the same attachment to him that he had shown to Brutus, adhered to him when he was abandoned by all the world.

There are also heroical instances of this devotedness in persons between whom, from their situations, the more pure and exalted sentiment of friendship may not have existed; but which have arisen from a principle of gratitude or fidelity.

During the bombardment of Algiers by the French in 1761, the Moors, in the ferocity of their despair, fastened their Christian slaves to the mouths of their cannon, and in this way their mangled bodies were fired against the hostile ships. An Algerine captain, who had been, some years before, taken prisoner by the besiegers, observed among the number an officer who had at that time shown him the kindest treatment, and with whom he had contracted an ardent friendship. He perceived him at the moment when they were about to fasten the unfortunate man to the mouth of the gun. The Al-

gerine cried out, and made the most violent struggles to save the life of the victim. But finding his entreaties in vain, and that they were on the point of firing the gun, he threw himself across the body of his friend, clasped his arms firmly round him, and called aloud: "Fire! since I cannot save the life of my friend, I will at least enjoy the consolation of dying with him." The Dey, who happened to be an eye-witness of this scene, was so moved at the sight, that he instantly conceded to heroism, what he had denied to humanity, and spared the life of the Christian.

The Marshal d'Aumont having taken Crodon, in Brittany, during the wars of the League, gave orders to put every Spaniard to the sword who was found in that garrison. Though death was declared the punishment for disobeying the orders of the General, an English soldier, then serving under d'Aumont, ventured to save a Spaniard. The Englishman was arraigned for this offence, before a court-martial; where he did not deny the fact, but declared himself ready to suffer death, provided they would spare the life of the Spaniard. The Marshal, surprised at such conduct, asked the soldier how he came to be so much interested in the preservation of his enemy. "Because," replied he, "in a similar situation he once saved my life." To the credit of the Marshal, he was so pleased with the spirit and goodness of his heart, that he granted a free pardon to them both.

It has been well observed by one of our best writers, that there is not a more pleasing exercise of the mind than gratitude. It is accompanied with such an inward satisfaction, that the duty is sufficiently rewarded by the performance. It is not, like the practice of many other virtues, difficult and painful, but is attended with so much pleasure, that were there no positive command which enjoined it, nor any recompense laid up for it hereafter, a generous mind would indulge in it for the natural gratification which accompanies it.

Henry II., with all his errors, seems to have been capable of this fine sentiment to a degree that did him honour. At the siege of Bridgnorth Castle, (which was defended by Roger de Mortimer,) this King exposed himself to so much danger, that he would have been slain, if a faithful vassal had not preferred his sovereign's life to his own. For, while he was personally giving orders at a station too near the wall, Hubert de St. Clare, Governor of Colchester Castle, who stood by his side, seeing an arrow aimed at Henry by one of Mortimer's archers, stepped before him, and received it in his own breast. The wound was mortal. he expired in the arms of his master, recommending his daughter (an only child, and an infant) to the care of that prince. The daughter of Hubert was educated by Henry, with all the affection that he owed to the memory of


her father ; and, when she had attained to maturity, was honourably married by him to William de Longueville, a nobleman of great distinction, on the condition of his taking the name of St. Clare, which the grateful monarch was desirous to perpetuate.

After the celebrated Gonsalvo of Cordova, called the Great Captain, had succeeded in driving the armies of Louis XII. out of Italy, there was still a small district in the kingdom of Naples, comprehending Venosa and some adjoining towns, where Louis d'Ars, a renowned French knight, and a few brave associates, yet held out against the Spanish arms. Although cut off from the hope of further support from home, the French knight disdained to surrender, but sallied out at the head of his little troop of gallant veterans, and thus, armed at all points, says Brantôme, with lance in rest, took his way through Naples and the centre of Italy. He marched in battle array, levying contributions for his support on the places through which he passed. In this manner he entered France, and presented himself before the court at Blois. The King and Queen, delighted with his prowess, came forward to welcome him, and made good cheer, says the old chronicler, for himself and his companions, whom they recompensed with liberal largesses, proffering at the same time any boon to the brave knight which he should demand for himself. The latter,

in return, simply requested that his old comrade, Ives d'Alègre, should be recalled from the exile to which he had been sentenced by the French King for his want of success in the conduct of the war.

It has ever been regarded as one of the drawbacks upon exalted stations, that it is most difficult for Kings and Princes to distinguish real friendship from the adulation and flattery by which it is usually their misfortune to be surrounded. Mr. Macaulay has given an eloquent description of the tie of gratitude by which William III. was bound to the faithful Bentinck, and the highly honourable acknowledgment which William took pleasure in making of the strong attachment he felt towards one, who had shown him such invaluable and disinterested devotion, under the severest of all trials.

“Highest in his favour stood a gentleman of his household named Bentinck, sprung from a noble Batavian race, and destined to be the founder of one of the great patrician houses of England. The fidelity of Bentinck had been tried by no common test. It was while the united provinces were struggling for existence against the French power, that the young Prince, on whom all their hopes were fixed, was seized by the small-pox. That disease had been fatal to many members of his family, and at first wore, in his case, a peculiarly malignant aspect. The public consternation was great. The streets of



the Hague were crowded from daybreak to sunset by persons anxiously asking how his Highness was. At length his complaint took a favourable turn. His escape was attributed partly to his own singular equanimity, and partly to the intrepid and indefatigable friendship of Bentinck. From the hands of Bentinck alone William took food and medicine. By Bentinck alone William was lifted from his bed and laid down in it. 'Whether Bentinck slept or not while I was ill,' said William to Temple, with great tenderness, 'I know not. But this I know, that, through sixteen days and nights, I never once called for anything but that Bentinck was instantly at my side.'

Before this faithful servant had entirely performed his task, he had himself caught the contagion. Still, however, he bore up against drowsiness and fever till his master was permanently convalescent. Then, at length, Bentinck asked leave to go home. It was time: for his limbs would no longer support him. He was in great danger, but recovered; and, as soon as he left his bed, hastened to the army, where, during many sharp campaigns, he was ever found, as he had been in peril of a different kind, close to William's side."

A strange and disgraceful perversion of the noble quality of gratitude is to be found in that very curious document, the Will of Napoleon Buonaparte,

sent to England and deposited at Doctors' Commons, after his death at St. Helena.

It may be necessary, in order to understand the clause alluded to in the will of the ex-Emperor, to remind the reader, that while the Duke of Wellington was Ambassador at Paris, after the capture and occupation of that city by the Allied armies, in 1814, an atrocious attempt was made to assassinate him one evening, when returning to his hotel in his carriage. The assassin had placed himself in the Rue Royale just outside the gateway of the court-yard of the hotel, and firing his pistol at the Duke, just as the carriage turned into the gateway, ran up the street, and made his escape, before he could be seized by the sentries who were on duty at the entrance. There were two of them on this post, but the gate being narrow, they both stood back on the inside to get out of the way of the carriage ; for the coachman, seeing the flash of the pistol, whipped his horses up to a gallop as he turned in. Consequently the fellow was off before they could rush out after him. Great display of zeal, and pursuit was made afterwards by the French Minister of Police, but favoured by the night, and assisted by the villains who had employed him, the man escaped out of Paris, and got safe away into Belgium.

It is deplorable to think that Buonaparte, after his exile, should actually have looked upon this cowardly

and bloody design as a subject for acknowledgment and gratitude in his Will, but there stands the document, all written in his own hand, recording this disgraceful and perverted sentiment in the following words :—" Je laisse au sous officier Cantillon prevenu de l'assassinat du Duc de Wellington la somme de 10,000 francs. Il avoit autant de droit de tuer cet oligarch que l'autre avoit de m'envoyer perir sur les rochers de St. Helene."

" Although the pleasures and advantages of friendship," says an admirable writer, " have been largely celebrated by the best moral writers, and are considered by all as great ingredients of human happiness, we do not meet with the practice of this virtue in the world so often as might be expected. Every man is ready to give a long catalogue of those good qualities he expects to find in the person of a friend, but very few of us are careful to cultivate them in ourselves, and to cure that tendency to selfishness which is the bane of sincere friendship. A likeness of inclination in every particular, is so far from being requisite, (as it is generally imagined,) to form a benevolence in two minds towards each other, that we shall find some of the firmest friendships to have been contracted between persons of very different humours. In truth, our intimacies are far oftener formed from the similarity of the circumstances and situations, in which we have acci-

dentally been thrown together, than from any deliberate search after congeniality of disposition in those we desire to make our friends."

The period of early youth, when the feelings are warm and fresh, and the heart has not yet sustained those rubs and disappointments which tend, as we advance in years, to render us less apt for new impressions, and more inclined to suppose interested motives in others—in that period it is that the friendships most lasting, and most valuable from their original sincerity, are commonly contracted. School friendships, which, after all, are the result, in most cases, of very few years of intercourse, are often those which last the longest, and which, through evil report and good report, become more cherished, and more firmly cemented in our advancing years, although the chances of life may have thrown us into careers entirely separate, and pursuits utterly unthought of at the time when such friendships commenced.

After one of those unfortunate and unsuccessful attempts made by the remnant of the Cavaliers when the Parliament had put Charles I. to death and usurped the government of England, a gentleman of the name of Wake, who had property in one of the southern counties, and had been implicated in an insurrection, was arrested by the Parliament, and brought to trial for conspiring against the State.

The evidence was such as to leave no doubt of his being found guilty, and there was little probability that mercy would be shown to a man of such known loyalty and spirit. But during the course of the trial it was observed that among other questions put to the prisoner, one of the judges made some inquiry as to his early life, and where he had received his education, and appeared somewhat moved when he stated in reply that he had been a scholar at Westminster-school. The trial, however, proceeded in the usual course, the jury, packed and selected from among the supporters of the new order of things, made little scruple of at once giving their fatal verdict; sentence of death was passed, and the unhappy man conveyed back to prison to await his doom. Many of his companions were shortly afterwards led out to execution, but some peculiar delay appeared to have occurred with respect to Mr. Wake, whose suspense was, however, most unexpectedly terminated by an order for his release, on condition he should quit the country for the present. It may well be imagined that he quickly took his departure, in astonishment at his inexplicable good fortune; and it was not till some months had elapsed, that he received a letter from the judge who at the trial had asked the questions as to his early years, informing him that it was he who by great exertion of his influence with the present go-

vernment, had obtained his pardon and liberty, and that the reason he had taken such lively interest in his fate was his having recognized in Mr. Wake the comrade at Westminster-school who had saved him from a flogging by taking upon himself the whole blame of some youthful mischief in which they had been jointly concerned. The writer went on to say, that although the troubles of the country had led them into very different associations of life, yet that nothing had erased from his memory the recollection of this act of kindness, that the moment he saw him at the bar he had been struck by his likeness to his old schoolfellow, and that when he had by his inquiries fully ascertained him to be the person in question, he had resolved * that the best means of saving him would be to abstain from any public recognition of him, and to apply as a favour to himself for an act of grace to one prisoner out of the number condemned.

But if the miniature adventures and pursuits of the schoolboy's life. do indeed lead to so many of those valuable intimacies, which form one of the principal charms of existence ; enabling us to enjoy prosperity with more generous feelings, and to bear adversity with a better resolution, and a firmer spirit, how much more may we expect from those friendships which are formed in the early years of military life, between persons brought together in the

narrow community of regimental society—a society which should be bound together by a common interest in the honour and welfare of the corps, and in the conduct and character of every one of his members.

It is this interest which forms the best foundation of the admirable sentiment, to express which we borrow a word (*esprit de corps*) from the French.

Every one who is conversant with the constitution of the British service must be aware, however, that, if we possess not any appropriate English term, yet we possess the feeling in a very high degree—a feeling which not only produces the most valuable unity of action, but also fosters the spirit of true loyalty and patriotism, for which the officers and soldiers of our army have so long been remarkable.

ESSAY XI.

ON DRINKING AND GAMBLING.

THE habit of excessive drinking is equally dangerous and disgraceful to an officer. What reliance can be placed on him who delivers himself up to this deplorable weakness? If entrusted with a secret commission, he may unconsciously divulge it. If detached to an advanced post, where he should watch over the security of the army, he may not only lose his picquet, but expose the safety of the whole. How can he be sent on a foraging party, to reconnoitre a country, surprise an important post, or to gain a march on the enemy, on which may depend the fate of a great body of troops? All these commissions require an activity, a presence of mind, and a discretion, of which a man subject to frequent intoxication is utterly incapable.

The example of a commanding officer addicted to

this vice, is too generally followed by those who serve under him, and if at any time, when invited to these indulgences, they should, either from inclination or complaisance, have been led to imitate it, what dependence can be placed on them, or what kind of orders, or what exercise of the judgment, can be expected from officers whose heads are confused with the vapours of a night passed in excess.

Again, how is it possible that officers who thus offend against the very essence of discipline, and set the worst example to their men, can hope to be respected on ordinary occasions, or looked up to and obeyed on hazardous emergencies, when both their honour and the success of their country's arms depends on the way in which they are able to inspire those under their command with spirit, firmness, and confidence.

Respect is one of the first ingredients of good discipline, and the soldier is an acute and observant judge of the title of his officer to that first tribute to real merit.

History, both ancient and modern, furnishes us numberless examples of the misfortunes which this vice has occasioned, and of the disgraceful acts and unpardonable crimes which some of the most renowned persons have been led to commit, from having unhappily contracted this dangerous and seductive habit, for drinking not only brings the greatest

danger in its train, but it frequently urges to actions which are followed by a remorse that accompanies the offender to his grave. It tarnished the lustre of the victories of Alexander; who has left an indelible stain upon his memory by the murder which he committed in his drunkenness, the remembrance of which distressed him to the last moment of his life.

Often as the story has been told, it is too appropriate to be here passed over. Clytus was one of Alexander's best friends; an old officer, who had fought under his father Philip, and signalised himself on many occasions. At the battle of the Granicus, as Alexander was fighting bareheaded, and Rosaces had his arm raised in order to strike him behind, Clytus covered the king with his shield, and cut off the barbarian's head. Hellenice, his sister, had nursed Alexander, who loved her with as much tenderness as if she had been his own mother. As the king, from all these considerations, had a very great friendship for Clytus, he entrusted him with the government of one of the most important provinces of his empire, and ordered him to depart for his command on the ensuing day. In the evening, Clytus was invited to an entertainment, in which the King, after drinking to excess, began to celebrate his own exploits; and was so lavish of self-commendation, that he even shocked those very persons who

knew that what he spoke was in general true. Clytus, who by this time, as well as the rest of the company, was completely intoxicated, began to relate the actions of Philip, and his wars in Greece ; preferring them to all that had been done by Alexander. Though the King was extremely vexed, he stifled his resentment ; and it is probable that he would have quite suppressed his passion, had Clytus stopped here ; but the latter growing more and more talkative, as if determined to exasperate and insult the King, he was commanded to leave the table. " He is right," said Clytus, as he rose up, " not to hear free-born men at his table, who can only tell him truth. He will do well to pass his life among barbarians and slaves, who will pay adoration to his Persian girdle and his white robe." Alexander, no longer able to restrain his rage, snatched a javelin from one of the guards, and would have killed Clytus on the spot, had not the courtiers withheld his arm, and forced Clytus with much difficulty out of the hall. He, however, returned the next moment by another door ; singing, with an air of insolence, verses reflecting highly on the King, who, seeing his insulter near him, struck him dead at his feet with his javelin, crying at the same time, " Go now to Philip !"

As soon as Alexander was capable of reflecting seriously on what he had done, his crime displayed

itself to him in the blackest and most dreadful light : for though Clytus had acted with inexcusable and intolerable insolence to his sovereign, yet it must be confessed, that the circumstances of the banquet extenuated in some degree the old warrior's conduct. When a king makes a subject his companion in a debauch, he seems, on such an occasion, to forget his dignity, and to permit his inferiors to forget it also ; he gives a degree of sanction to the liberties, familiarities, and sudden flights which wine commonly inspires. A fault, committed under these circumstances, is indeed *still* a fault ; but certainly not such as to merit the death of the offender. This Alexander had generosity enough to acknowledge ; and, at the same time, to perceive that he had done the office of an executioner, in punishing, by a horrid murder, the utterer of some indirect words, which ought to have been imputed to the effects of wine. He threw ~~himself~~ upon his friend's body, forced out the javelin, ~~and~~ would have dispatched himself with it, had he not been prevented by his guards. He passed that night and the next day in tears, stretched on the ground, and uttering only groans and deep sighs.

On another occasion, we are told that Alexander, having invited several of his friends and Generals to a great supper, proposed a crown as a reward to him who should drink most. The victor on this

occasion was Promachus, who swallowed fourteen measures of wine, a quantity equal to eighteen or twenty pints. After receiving the prize, which was a crown worth a talent, (about two hundred pounds,) he survived his victory but three days. Of the rest of the guests, some died of their intemperate drinking, in competing with Promachus for the fatal prize, and others were seriously injured in their health.

To this disgraceful intemperance Alexander eventually sacrificed that life which he had so gloriously ventured in a hundred battles. It was at Babylon that his miserable death occurred. After having spent a whole night in carousing, a second debauch was proposed to him; he attended accordingly, and there were twenty guests at table; he drank to the health of every person present, and then pledged them severally. After this, calling for Hercules' cup, which held an immense quantity, it was filled; when he completely exhausted it, drinking to a Macedonian of the company, Protens by name: and afterwards pledged him again, in the same furious and extravagant bumper. He had no sooner done this than he fell upon the floor. "Here then," says Seneca, (describing the fatal effects of drunkenness,) "this hero, unconquered by all the toils of prodigious marches, exposed to the dangers of sieges and combats, and to the most violent extremes of heat and

cold, here he lies, subdued by his intemperance, and struck to the earth by the fatal cup of Hercules !” In this condition he was seized with a fever which, in a few days, terminated his life, when he was only thirty-two years old, of which he had reigned twelve. No one, say Plutarch and Arrian, then suspected that Alexander had been poisoned : the true poison which brought him to his end was wine, which has killed many thousands besides.

Philip, father of Alexander, was addicted to the same vice : but its effects on him were less dishonourable and less dangerous, or rather he did not indulge in it to so great an excess.

A Macedonian lady once took occasion of meeting him after he had just arisen from a drunken feast, and pleaded before him some cause in which she believed herself ill-used. The arguments she produced, however, were not understood by the King, who immediately pronounced judgment against her, and ordered her to retire. Surprised at a decision which she knew to be unjust, she looked stedfastly at him, and said, “ I appeal ! ” — “ How ? ” cried Philip, “ from your King : and to whom ? ” — “ To Philip *when sober*,” she instantly answered. The manner in which he received this reply would have done honour to the most temperate monarch. He examined the affair at greater leisure, acknowledged the injustice of his sentence, and condemned himself

to the mortification of reversing his decision, and ordering full compensation to the injured lady.

The celebrated Elector, Frederic William, marching to the relief of his province, which had been invaded by the Swedes, while he was uniting his troops with the Emperor against France, reached Magdeburg with a speed almost incredible. He caused the gates of this fortress to be immediately shut, and took every possible means to prevent the enemy from hearing of his arrival. Toward evening the army passed the Elbe, and advanced by country roads on the following night, to the gates of Rathenau, which contained a Swedish garrison. The Elector contrived to acquaint the Baron de Briest, who was in the town, of his movement; and concerted with him privately the best means of surprising the Swedes. Briest acquitted himself of this difficult commission with much address. He gave a great supper to all the officers, who yielded themselves without restraint to the pleasures of the table; and while they were passing their time in drinking to excess, the Elector ordered his infantry to cross the Havel in boats prepared for the purpose, and to assail the town furiously on all sides. General Daersting, declaring himself to be the commander of a party of Swedes pursued by the Brandebourgers, was the first that entered Rathenau. He instantly dispatched the guard, and the next mo-

ment all the gates of the town were forced. The cavalry cleared the streets ; and the officers of the place could scarcely persuade themselves, when they awoke from their stupefaction, that they were the captives of a Prince whom they fully thought to be then with his troops in the heart of Franconia.

During the civil wars of Poland, which led to the celebrated Partition of that distracted country in the year 1772, the Russians laid siege to Schkied. The Governor, Losnowsky, under pretence of capitulating, obtained a suspension of arms ; during which he regaled the officer on duty in the trenches with an excellent collation and a large quantity of wine and brandy. At the same time he sent out a number of his own soldiers, in whom he could confide, with a plentiful supply of liquor, to treat the common soldiers in a similar manner.

The plan succeeded perfectly, and before the hour at which the temporary truce was to terminate, most of the troops in the trenches were nearly incapable of duty. Losnowsky, the moment the stipulated period of the amnesty had elapsed, made objections to the terms, and breaking off the negotiation, hastened back into the town. The Russians now began to perceive the trap into which they had unwarily fallen, but before they could relieve the guard, and detachment in the trenches, with fresh troops, who had not been exposed to the snare, Losnowsky,

who had prepared beforehand for a vigorous sally, came down upon them with such a force, and so rapidly, that he discomfited all within the works, and spread such a panic among the rest, that they broke up and withdrew from the siege.

Philip de Comines, in his interesting memoirs of the eventful times in which he lived, gives a curious instance of the national turn for drink and good cheer which has always been a characteristic of the English nation, and which, on the occasion referred to, might have caused a serious rupture of the recent peace between Louis XI. and our Edward IV. at Amiens, where they had arranged their meeting for amicable conferences. The whole story tells much to the honour of Louis XI., and Edward IV. seems to have been fully sensible of his forbearance, and well aware, also, of the incurable fault of his own troops and the difficulty of curbing their license and irregularity when once exposed to the temptation of drink.

The narrative of De Comines will be best told in his own quaint style, which is faithfully preserved by his translator, Uvedale.

“The King had ordered two large tables to be placed on each side of the street, at the entrance of the town-gate, which were covered with a variety of nice dishes of all sorts of food most proper to

relish their wine, of which there was a great plenty, and of the richest that France could afford, and abundance of servants in the King's livery to wait and attend on them, *but not a drop of water* did the English call for, At each of the tables the King had placed five or six jolly drinking companions, persons of rank and condition, to entertain those that had a mind to take a hearty glass, amongst which were the Lord de Craon, the Lord de Briquebec, the Lord de Bresmes, the Lord de Villiers, and several others. Those English which were within sight of the gate, saw the entertainment, and there were persons appointed on purpose to take their horses by the bridles, and lead them to the tables, where every man was treated handsomely, as he came in his turn, to their very great satisfaction. When they had once entered the town, wherever they went, or whatever they called for, nothing was to be paid; they were liberally furnished ~~with~~ all that they wanted, and they had whatever they had a mind to call for, without paying for it, according to the King of France's orders, who bore all the expense of that entertainment, which lasted three or four days." He goes on to say,

"I have already given you an account of the King's nobly entertaining the English at Amiens. One night the Lord de Torcy came to the King, and

told him their numbers in the town were so considerable, that he apprehended there might be some danger in it; but his Majesty, being angry with him, everybody else was silent. The next day was Childermass Day, on which the King neither spoke himself, nor permitted any one else to apply to him about business, but took it as an ill omen, and would be very pettish when any such thing was proposed, especially from those who waited on him, and knew his temper. However, the morning I speak of, when the King was drest, and gone in to his devotions, one came to me with news that there were at least nine thousand English in the town. I resolved to venture his displeasure, and acquaint him with it; whereupon entering into his closet, I said, ‘Sire, though it be Childermass Day, I think myself bound in duty to inform your Majesty of what I have heard.’ Then I gave him an account of the number of troops already in the town, that more were coming in every moment, that they were all armed, and that nobody durst shut the gate upon them for fear of provoking them. The King was not offended, but left his prayers, and told me, that for once he would put off the devotions of that day. He commanded me immediately to get on horseback, and endeavour to speak with some of the English officers of note, to desire them to order their troops to retire: and if I met any of his cap-

tains, to send them to him, for he would be at the gate as soon as I. I met three or four English Commanders of my acquaintance, and spoke to them according to the King's directions: but, for one that they commanded to leave the town, there were twenty came in. After me, the King sent the Lord de Giè, (now Marshall of France,) and having found me, we went together into a tavern, where, though it was not nine o'clock, there had been one hundred and eleven reckonings to pay that morning. The house was filled with company,—some sung, some laughed, some slept, and the rest were drunk; upon seeing of which I concluded there was no danger, and sent to inform the King of it: who came immediately to the gate, well attended, and ordered two or three hundred men-at-arms to be armed privately in their captains' houses, some of which he posted at the gate by which the English entered. The King ordered his dinner to be brought to the porter's lodgings at the gate, where his Majesty dined, and did several English officers the honour of admitting them to dinner with him. The King of England had been informed of this disorder, and was much ashamed of it, and sent to the King of France to desire his Majesty to admit no more of his troops into the town. The King of France sent him word back, he would not do that, but if he pleased to send a party of his own guards thither, the gate

should be delivered up to them, and they might let in, or exclude, whom they pleased. In short, so they did, and several of the English, by their King's express command, were ordered to evacuate the town."

Tacitus describes the ancient Germans to have been subject to the spirit of play, to a most exorbitant degree. He says: "They addict themselves to dice, even (which is wonderful) when sober, and as a serious employment, with such an infatuation, that when stripped of everything, they will at last stake their liberty, and even themselves. The loser goes into a voluntary slavery; and though younger and stronger than his antagonist, suffers himself to be bound, and sold. And this perseverance, in so bad a cause, they call *the point of honour*." * In modern times, it is true that slavery does not await the losing gambler, but other evils are at hand scarcely less terrible to a mind not altogether corrupted.

This passion is, in a rich man, a great folly, and commonly terminates in the diminution or total loss of his fortune: even then, however, he may find a resource, though a degrading one, in the ability of his family to supply him the means of subsistence and support. But in him who possesses only a slender fortune, it is an unpardonable temerity, which leaves him nothing but the prospect of absolute poverty, and forces him to run the risk of total

* "*Ea est in re prava pervicacia, ipsi fidem vocant.*"

disgrace, in case of losing more than he had it in his power to pay. In an officer without any fortune, it is utterly unprincipled, for he hazards nothing himself, while he attempts to enrich himself by the ruin of others.

Besides the loss of fortune and of honour, and the neglect of duty, games of chance draw after them many other evils. One of the most prevalent of these is the frequent quarrels which arise from the rage and vexation of the losers, which have too often terminated by the shedding of blood. Another inconvenience of play, even when most innocent, is the loss of time : a serious evil in the estimation of an officer, who looks to his character for advancement. If animated by the love of his profession and the desire of fame, he will find his time too precious to be wasted. When seeking relaxation for the mind, the society and conversation of intelligent officers will furnish him a far more interesting amusement than play, and he will thus too acquire their esteem, which will be of much greater value to him than even the profits of a successful gamester.

Colonel Daniel, a man remarkable for his friendly and amiable qualities in the society of his day, took great pleasure in giving kind and useful advice to young officers ; as, directing them in their military duties, the management of their pay, &c. Whenever he was upon the article of gaming, he used to tell the following story of himself as a warning to

others, and to show that a little resolution may conquer this unfortunate passion :—

In Queen Anne's wars, when an ensign in the English army in Spain, under Lord Peterborough, he was so absolutely possessed, he said, by this evil, that all duty, and everything else that prevented him gratifying his favourite passion, was to him intolerable. He scarcely allowed himself time for rest; he swallowed his meals with precipitation, and hurried again to the gaming-table. For some time, fortune was his friend: and he was so successful, that he had often spread his winnings on the ground, and rolled himself on them, in order that it might be said of him, "he wallowed in gold." Such was his life during a considerable time; but he often said, and surely every considerate man will join with him, that it was the most miserable part of it.

It so happened that in consequence of the ranks of his regiment becoming considerably thinned by hard service, he was ordered on recruiting duty, and at Barcelona he raised one hundred and fifty Spanish and other recruits for the regiment; though this was left entirely to his serjeant, that he might be more at leisure to attend to his darling passion. After some changes of good and ill-luck, fortune declared so openly against him, that in one unlucky run, he was stripped even of the last shilling. In

this distress he applied to a captain of the same regiment for the loan of ten guineas ; which was refused with this speech : “ What ! lend my money to a professed gamester ? No, sir, I wish to be excused : for if I do I must probably lose either my money or my friend ; I therefore choose to keep my money.”

With this mortifying refusal, he retired to his lodging, where he threw himself on the bed, to try and lay himself and ~~his~~ sorrows to a momentary rest, during the heat of the day ; but his melancholy situation presented itself to him too strongly to allow of repose. Without money, and no prospect to get any, to subsist himself and his recruits to the regiment, then at a great distance from him ! Should they desert for want of their pay, he must be answerable for it ; and he could expect nothing but to be cashiered, for disappointing the Queen’s service. He had no friend ; for he, whom he had esteemed such, had not only refused to lend him money, but had added taunts to the refusal. He had no acquaintance there ; and strangers, he knew, would not let him have so large a sum as was answerable to his real necessity.

He was then naturally led to reflect seriously on what had induced him to commence gamester ; and this he at once perceived was idleness. He had now found the cause, but the cure was still wanting.

Something must be done ; some method must be pursued to employ his time so effectually, as to prevent his having any to throw away at gaming. It then occurred to him, that the adjutantcy of the regiment was about to be vacant and might be obtained ; and this he determined to purchase, as a post the most likely to find him a sufficient and laudable way of passing his time. He had a letter of credit to draw for what sum he pleased for his promotion in the army ; but not to throw away idly, or to encourage his extravagance. This was well : but the main difficulty remained, and he must get to the regiment, before he could take any steps towards the intended purchase, or draw for the sum to make it with.

While he was endeavouring to fall upon some expedient, his friend, who had refused him in the morning, came to pay him a visit. After a very cool reception on Daniel's side, the other began by asking him, what steps he intended to take to relieve himself from the state in which his imprudence had involved him. Daniel told him all that he had thought upon that head, and the resolution he had made of purchasing the adjutantcy as soon as he could join the regiment. His friend then embracing him, said : " My dear Daniel, I refused you in the morning in that abrupt manner, in order to bring you to a sense of your dangerous

situation, and to make you reflect seriously on the way of life you had fallen into. I heartily rejoice it has had the desired effect. Pursue the laudable resolution you have made, for be assured that idleness and gaming are the ruin of youth. My purse, as well as my interest and advice, is now at your command :—there ; take it, and provide what is necessary to subsist yourself and recruits to the regiment.”

This behaviour entirely obliterated the harshness of the refusal in the morning ; Mr. Daniel now viewed his visitor in the light of a sincere friend, and for ever after esteemed and found him such. He set off with his recruits for the regiment ; where he gained great credit for his success, which, as well as his commission, he had almost lost by one morning’s folly : he solicited and purchased the adjutancy ; and from that day forward never touched cards or dice, but became one of the most valuable and respected officers in the service.

Henry IV. of France once lost at play a sum of money so considerable, that it was said to have been sufficient to have retaken Amiens from the Spaniards. The Duc de Sully, his minister, suffered Henry to send to him three or four times for it, still making one pretext or another for his delay ; at last he brought it to the King, and spread it all out upon the table before him in his apartment. Henry

fixed his eyes upon it for some time with great attention ; and then, turning to Sully, said,—“ I am corrected : I will never lose any money at gaming again while I live.”

Every species of chance play, however, was strictly forbidden in the French camps and garrisons, and throughout their armies. The prohibitions on this head are of very early date. On the 24th of July, 1534, Francis I. issued an order, which was again confirmed by Henry II. on the 22nd of May, 1557, that no soldier should, under any pretext whatever, obtain money from a comrade by play. It was further ordered, that in case of foul play, the persons who should be discovered were, for the first offence, to be publicly flogged ; and for the second, to be punished in the same manner, to have their ears cut off, and to be banished for ten years. The delinquents were committed to the custody of the Provost, who was authorized to confiscate all the money that was played for. Dice and cards were rigorously forbidden under the same penalties, as well as all sorts of games which might create animosities and dissensions among the soldiers.

These restrictions were probably little attended to after a time, and had probably fallen almost into oblivion, for it appears that on the 15th of January, 1691, Louis XIV. issued an order, by which he

expressly forbade, not only the officers belonging to his army, but likewise all other persons, of whatever sex or denomination, to play at faro, basset, and several other games, by name. The penalties for every infraction or breach of this order were as follows. Those persons who played were fined 1,000 livres (or £40 sterling); and the master or mistress of the house where the games were allowed, were fined 6,000 livres (£240) for each offence. It was further ordained, that in case the persons so discovered were unable to pay these fines, they should be taken into custody. Those subjected to the penalty of 1,000 livres, were to be imprisoned for four months; and those who incurred the fine of 6,000 livres without having the means to pay it, for a year. The Intendants of the provinces and armies, the police magistrates, and the military provosts, were all and severally directed to see this edict put in execution; and by a circular letter, written in the King's name to the different governors of the provinces, the prohibitions were extended even to the private soldiers of the French army.

On the 25th of August, 1698, Louis XIV. issued a further order, by which he rigorously forbade, under pain of death, every individual belonging to the French cavalry or infantry, (sutler and private soldier included,) to keep any gaming-table in camp or quarters; and further directed, that in case any

hazard-table should be set up in a camp or garrison, the commanding officer or governor was to order the same to be broken forthwith, and to commit all persons concerned therein to prison.

Whether matters never got to such a pitch as to require similar rules in the British armies of those days, or whether it was deemed of less importance in a nation of more phlegmatic habits, it seems curious to find in the Duke of Marlborough's orders for the army under his command in Flanders, as reported by General Kane, the following regulation :—

“ That no gaming be allowed anywhere *but at the quarter-guard.*”

In our days there could hardly be a greater offence than what was here authorized by order ; but, in truth, there has been no happier improvement of modern times, in our service, than the discouragement and consequent decrease of this deplorable vice, which is happily become more rare in the regiments of the British army than in almost any class of general society.

ESSAY XII.

ON ANGER.

ANGER is, perhaps, of all the passions to which we are subject, that which most enfeebles our judgment. At the same time, it is to be lamented that persons are found, of the most honourable, humane, and otherwise excellent characters, who tarnish, by this defect, all these estimable qualities. They are irritated by the slightest contradictions; and in this rage, they are totally regardless both of what they say, and of what they do. A man of a reflecting mind, when he is sensible of this great blemish, will exert the utmost diligence to correct it. And he will not find it difficult to succeed in his endeavours, if, when he feels the emotion rising in his breast, he can pause for a moment, to ask himself what is the object of his anger, and whether it is worth the vexation it occasions him.

Many persons attempt to excuse their anger, by the shortness of its duration, and by the calm which almost instantly succeeds their passions ; but it is surely a poor compliment to tell them that they are happy in their passions being only momentary ; and, that, like dogs, they are harmless only when they are not opposed.

A passionate temper renders a man unfit for advice, deprives him of his reason, robs him of all that is great or noble in his nature, destroys friendship, changes justice into cruelty, and turns all order into confusion. The first step to moderation is, to perceive that we are on the point of exceeding it : it is much easier wholly to prevent ourselves from falling into a passion, than to keep it within just bounds ; that which few can moderate, almost anybody may prevent.

For a military man, a hasty temper is a real misfortune. It misleads him on the most important points of conduct. An officer who allows himself to be betrayed into violent fits of passion, is too apt to mistake the effect he produces on the spectators, or subjects of his fury, and to think, because they appear struck with fear, or bowed with seeming humility, that he has really succeeded in producing an extraordinary awe and respect for his authority. Could such a man but hear the remarks which are made on his sallies of temper, the moment his back

is turned, or be aware that by his violent language he has only been supplying amusement, and affording occasion even of mimicry to those on whom his wrath has been intemperately vented, he would surely feel the utmost regret and shame, and form resolutions never thus to commit himself for the future. But supposing him to be popular with his inferiors, and an officer of character and worth in other respects, how would he doubly feel his want of self-control, could he hear his best friends vainly trying to extenuate his fault, well knowing the weakness of their ground, and scarcely able to find a decent argument for the defence of his unfortunate want of control over the ebullitions of his rash and hasty disposition.

Then, as regards the effects of discipline, this defect is most dangerous in one who is destined to the command of others: because, his judgment being subdued by his anger, he punishes those who are under his command less in proportion to the fault they have committed, than to the degree of indignation it has excited in his breast. What a difference is there between him who is led away by his passions, and him who punishes coolly, and only in obedience to his judgment! Sober reason is not precipitate; but weighs and examines everything, and allows time for reflection and amendment; it pronounces sentence

with regret; and when it is constrained to inflict punishment, always proportions it to the crime. Anger, on the contrary, is almost always unjust. How often in this state of mind are we led to decide against truth; and what is worse still, even against innocence! Anger always obeys its first impulse; and it has been accounted the highest effort of philosophy to subdue it. "You are very fortunate that I am in a passion," said Archytas of Tarentum to his steward, against whom he had some cause of complaint, "or I certainly should have punished you."

Alviano, General of the Venetian armies, was taken prisoner by the troops of Louis XII. during his wars in Italy, and brought before him. The King treated him with his usual humanity and courtesy, to which the indignant captive did not make by any means a proper return, but behaved with great insolence. Louis contented himself with sending him to the quarters where the prisoners were kept; saying to his attendants, "I have done right to send Alviano away. I might have put myself in a passion with him, for which I should have been very sorry. I have conquered him; I should learn to conquer myself."

In the Memoirs of James II. a curious anecdote is told of the fatal effect of momentary passion in an officer, which led to most serious results:—During the siege of Arras, in 1654, as Turenne and the

Duke of York, then serving under him, were visiting the advanced posts at night, they observed a sudden and brilliant flash of light like that produced by gunpowder; it appeared to proceed from the quarters of M. de la Ferté; but on their advancing in that direction to discover what it could be, sentinels stationed upon the heights of Mouchi, who had also seen the same light, assured them that it had taken place much farther off in the plain than they had imagined, and that it must have been near the town of Lens. The next morning it became known that a corps of cavalry, one hundred and twenty strong, marching from Douai to the enemies' camp, with each officer, as well as the men, carrying a bag of powder *en croupe*, besides eighty horses laden with grenades, led by peasants on foot, had all been blown up, without its being possible to ascertain how this accident had occurred. It was a melancholy sight to see the few survivors brought into the camp; their faces hideous and disfigured, and their bodies burnt to such a degree that very few recovered. Some patrols had been at break of day to the spot where the fire was seen, and brought into the camp all those in whom any sign of life appeared, those of the horses that were the least burnt, and a pair of kettle-drums; but not one of the prisoners could give the least account how their misfortune had happened. The Duke of York afterwards met in Flanders a lieutenant of cavalry, who explained to him

the facts of the case. Observing this officer with his face disfigured by burns, he enquired how he had been so injured. The lieutenant then told him that it was caused by this identical explosion of gunpowder between Lens and Arras ; and being asked the particulars, related, that being in the vanguard of the detachment which was conveying bags of powder to the camp, he perceived a trooper with a lighted pipe in his mouth, upon which, being unable to controul his passion at the fellow's disregard of discipline, and of the lives of himself and his comrades, he rode up to him, and quickly snatching it away, threw it upon the ground, bestowing upon the offender some blows with the flat of his sword, who, being drunk, took his pistol and presented it at him. The officer, seeing his danger from the fury of the soldier, threw himself off his horse, and the trooper firing at him, set fire to the bag of powder which he carried behind, which, instantly exploding, communicated the fire to the next trooper's bag, and successively to all the rest, who for the most part were killed on the spot : that being on the ground, he had escaped better than the rest, and, although much hurt, had contrived to crawl away, and was picked up before morning by a detachment of their own people, and carried into camp, where, with skilful treatment, he had been so fortunate as to recover.

Here, then, were the lives of near two hundred men, including the poor peasants who led the

horses, sacrificed to a moment of passion on the part of one thoughtless man. Had this officer had the coolness and prudence to get possession of the drunken soldier's pipe in a quiet way, this fearful accident, by which he so nearly lost his own life, and caused the destruction of so many others, would have been avoided.

A very terrible catastrophe of an explosion of gunpowder, which has occurred within the last few months in the East Indies, is here inserted, to show that in this singular story of the cavalry conveying powder being destroyed, there is nothing improbable or extravagant. The newspaper account was to this effect :

About half-past ten P. M., May 11, a fleet of magazine boats anchored under the old fort at Ray Ghaut, took fire ; three thousand (more or less) barrels of powder exploded, carrying death and destruction before it, throwing down the high bank and all the houses, shattering everything. The hotel was blown to pieces, and most of the servants killed ; two young officers sleeping there, strange to say, have escaped with rather severe injuries. Scarcely a soul of the crew, and only two sepahees of the guard, escaped ; hands, feet, heads, trunks, and entire corpses, lie strewed in all directions ; every house, for many hundred yards round, was unroofed, and many shaken down. The exact amount of killed is not yet known. Three hundred pri-

soners are hard at work exhuming the victims ; the two Shazadahs, whose houses were right and left of the hotel, have each lost their wives, and one his daughter, the other his nephew, and many followers. The toll-house over the hotel has come down entirely ; not a boat appears to have escaped. Conductor Forsyth's wife has not been found, and a river merchant lost all his boats, and his wife and some other relatives : the man has gone mad. As far as can be ascertained, the fire took place at the lower end of the fleet. The powder boats being immediately under the Hotel, it would seem that, had the boat been cut adrift at once, the rest might have been saved. The concussion was so great, that windows were broken in Secrote, and the ground shook. The noise was terrific. Mr. Gordon's house is much shaken : all hands were thrown out of their beds. The number of killed is variously estimated, but it must be more than five hundred, for the crew amounted to four hundred, and very few, it is believed, escaped. A very large portion must have been blown into the river. Measures are being taken to ascertain the names of all the sufferers."

Among the very few frailties of the great Gustavus was an undue warmth of temper, which one of the best historians of his life extenuates, by remarking that those who served under him did not mind an occasional harsh

expression, inasmuch as his anger was only momentary, and the amends he made to those whom he had chagrined, more than repaid them, for the transitory uneasiness of a slight mortification. "Perhaps," says Mr. Harte, "one cannot defend him better than by inserting the very words of his own apology to his Generals at a council of war."

"I am thought by many of you," said he, "to speak hastily and angrily on certain conjunctures, but also consider, my fellow-soldiers, what a weight lies upon my mind. I am to perform all, and to be present everywhere; and when human thoughts are on the stretch, obstacles and interruptions of the grand pursuit make men irritable. You must bear with my infirmities, as I submit to yours; one General has a tendency to avarice, another has a passion for wine, a third would desire to wage war with the fierceness of a Croatian; yet without going further than admonishing and advising you, I have discarded no man, but, on the contrary, have kept you all about my person, and have more or less esteemed you every one."

Who can wonder at the influence over the minds of his followers attained by a leader who, with such a generous candour, could apologise for the faults of a temper so severely tried, and which, after all, never betrayed itself, except from excess of zeal in the glorious cause, which led him and so many of

those he then addressed, to an early grave on the field of victory.

The Duke of Marlborough, among his many other admirable qualities, possessed great command of temper, and never permitted it to be ruffled by slight things, a point in which the greatest men have been occasionally found unguarded. As he was riding one day with Commissary Marriot, it began to rain, and he called to his servant for his cloak. The man not bringing it immediately he called for it again ; but still the servant, being embarrassed with the straps and buckles, did not come up to him. At last, the rain increasing, the Duke called a third time, and asked him what he was about, that he did not bring the cloak ? “ You must stay,” grumbled the fellow, “ if it rains cats and dogs, till I can get at it.” The Duke turned round to Marriot, and said very coolly, “ Now I would not be of that fellow’s temper for all the world.”

Lord Clive, though a man of the strongest and most energetic impulses, was remarkable for command of temper. At the time of the dangerous conspiracy among the officers in India, in the year 1766, when, in disgust at the diminution of their allowances, they combined to resign all their commissions, at the moment the army was about to undertake active operations, his admirable coolness is thus described by Mr. Gleig.

“ It is impossible to speak of Lord Clive's conduct throughout the whole of these most difficult and complicated transactions in terms of exaggerated praise. Calm, collected, resolute, yet just, he faced every danger that presented itself, and met every difficulty as it rose, with a perfect self-possession which ensured success. In dealing likewise with the guilty, his forbearance won for him as much of admiration as his firmness. They who had abused the influence which they derived from their rank and experience to mislead others, had no mercy shown ; the young, the thoughtless, the repentant, were pardoned, and restored to the service. Moreover, there was manifest in his whole bearing, that forgetfulness of self, which is the surest test of high principle, in the conduct of public men. Of disrespectful words spoken about *Lord Clive*, when repeated to him, he took no notice. It was the authority of the *President and Council*, and of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, which he desired to maintain, and on one remarkable occasion he rebuked, by inference, the parties who had endeavoured to mix up this principle with considerations of a different kind. An officer—a Lieutenant Stainsforth—was reported to him as having expressed an intention to put his lordship to death rather than see the conspiracy broken up. Lord Clive refused to take any public notice of the

threat, and only once referred to it, when, in his address to the troops at Monghir, he spoke of the malcontents as 'misguided English officers'—not as assassins. At the same time, being aware of the publicity which the story had obtained, and not being able to satisfy himself that some threat of the sort had never been uttered, he did not consider that it would be becoming to restore Mr. Stainsforth to the service. The letter from his secretary, however, which conveyed this refusal, was couched in delicate, almost in kind, language, and it does not appear that either then, or at any subsequent period, Mr. Stainsforth, or indeed any others of those who had gone furthest to mark their hostility to Lord Clive, were treated by him as objects of his resentment."

In the month of October, 1811, the late Lord Hill, whose memory as commander-in-chief will long be honoured by the British army, being at the head of a detached corps, had received instructions from Lord Wellington to endeavour to drive the French troops out of that part of Estremadura which lies between the Tagus and Guadiana, and to replace the Spanish advanced corps at Caceres, whence the superior force of the French had lately compelled it to retire. General Hill accordingly moved, late in October, from his cantonments at Portalegre, towards the Spanish frontier, and a few days

afterwards his advance-guard had a trifling skirmish with the light troops of the retreating enemy, who however quickly disappeared altogether, and left his march unmolested.

On the 29th, he learned that General Girard's corps of about 3,500 men, were at Arroyo de Molinos, and apparently but little on their guard against any attack. He pushed on therefore, by a forced march, to Alcuéscar, within a league of the French, meeting with no patrol on the road or other sign of watchfulness. He immediately determined to surprise them, and ordering no fires to be lighted, disposed his troops for the attempt. At two in the morning, he was in motion, in a single column, which, on nearing the town of Arroyo de Molinos, was divided into three, the left column to march straight upon the town, the right column, under General Howard, to get round the left of the enemy, and the cavalry, under General Erskine, in reserve between the two, to act as required.

A violent storm of rain, just as day broke, favoured, and concealed, their advance. The left column rushed rapidly into the town, just as the enemy was leaving it. The 71st and 92nd Highlanders (their pipers playing "Hey, Johnny Cope") charged right into the French rear-guard, and drove them out of the streets in utter disorder. Their flight threw into partial confusion the infantry, which had cleared

the town, and were attempting to form squares. The right column was getting round them fast; the cavalry charged them in front; and a total rout and dispersion of the whole followed, Girard himself escaping, with only two or three thousand men, into the mountains behind him.

On this occasion, the remarkable coolness of Lord Hill presented a great contrast to the fury and rage of one of the French generals captured at the first onset. After the total dispersion of the enemy, and when steps had been taken for securing the prisoners, and looking to the wounded, the English Commander, hearing there was a general officer among the former, sent an aide-de-camp to desire his company to breakfast with him. This officer, proceeding to deliver his message with all due courtesy, was not a little astonished by finding the General (Brun) leaping about the yard where the prisoners were collected, in a frenzy of rage, tearing his hat to pieces with his teeth, and incapable of listening to, or understanding the intended civility. He returned in despair to General Hill, to state the frantic condition of the Frenchman, and the bad success of his embassy. "Very well," said the General, with his characteristic quiet and kindness; "go back, and as soon as he leaves off biting his hat, explain to him that he will find his breakfast ready at my quarters, and that I shall be very happy to receive him there."

How fully the Duke of Wellington appreciated and admired the amiable qualities as well as the military talent of General Hill, these few impressive lines, addressed by him to Lord Liverpool after this affair, sufficiently attest.* The letter bears date November 6th, 1811, Freneda.

"It would be particularly agreeable to me, if some mark of the favour of H.R.H. the Prince Regent were conferred upon General Hill. His services have always been meritorious, and very distinguished in this country, and *he is beloved by the whole army*. In recommending him, as I do, *most anxiously*, I really feel there is no officer to whom an act of grace and favour would be received by the army with more satisfaction than General Hill."

Passion is of all our failings that which most frequently is visited by immediate retribution, and it is well for a passionate man when that retribution is no greater than the following absurd mischance, which occurred to a Russian General in the Odessa Quarantine Station in the year 1827. This officer had been on a mission to some place on the Black Sea, where plague had lately appeared, and was returning to take an important command on the Danube. But, before proceeding thither, it was of course a matter of imperative necessity that he should undergo fourteen days' quarantine at Odessa. Of a fiery impatient temper, he chafed exceedingly

under this irksome confinement, but at last the term was expired, all but the fourteenth day, and every preparation was made for departure on the following morning. One of his aides-de-camp had come to join him from the army, and, eager for the last news from the theatre of the Turkish war, he availed himself of the indulgence usually granted to persons of his rank, of having this officer brought within the precincts to converse with him, in the presence, and under the watch of, one of the quarantine guardians, a sort of policeman of the establishment. Walking up and down with the aide-de-camp, and becoming excited by something which the latter was telling him of the recent events of the war, he began to gesticulate with great vivacity, and made a motion as if he would take the officer by the arm. The Guardian instantly interfered with a sort of wand they carry, and respectfully but firmly cautioned the General to avoid touching his companion. This interference, instead of being acknowledged with thanks for the timely warning, was received with anger and threats by the irritable General, who continued his conversation with increased eagerness, till the Guardian again stepped forward with a second warning *not to touch* the aide-de-camp. The General's rage now became ungovernable, and turning on the unlucky Guardian, he gave him a box on the ear which nearly upset him.

What was the consequence? Recovering himself from the blow, the Guardian, with ill-disguised satisfaction, instantly announced to the astonished General, that having actually *touched* him, who was a servant of the quarantine in constant attendance on persons under suspicion of plague, he had entirely forfeited his thirteen days of probation, and by the immutable laws of the establishment, must pass fourteen more days within its walls, counted from the time of his having given this ill-advised box on the ear. Nor could bribe, apology, or remonstrance, obtain the least mitigation of this prolongation of his tedious and annoying delay, and imprisonment, and what was even worse, the necessity of accounting to the Emperor for not appearing at his post with the army on the day appointed.

ESSAY XIII.

ON HONOUR.

THOUGH the principle of honour is admirable in every class of society ; yet the military character is peculiarly that from which it has emanated, and with the very existence of which it should be inseparably interwoven. In the army it should be the vital principle, and a great leading motive of each individual member. He that hesitates at the call of honour, will seldom be attentive to the voice of patriotism. If the love of our country engages our fidelity, the voice of honour forbids us to abandon it, even in the last extremity.

While Cæsar was engaged in the war in Africa, one of his galleys having been captured by the fleet of Varus and Octavius, a centurion and a party of soldiers were brought to Scipio, who was then in

the act of administering justice :—" Since fortune," said he to them, " has delivered you into my hands, and as it was no doubt through compulsion that you obeyed the tyranny of Cæsar, tell me, will you not follow the cause of the republic, and of all good and honest citizens? Life, liberty, and a handsome reward, shall be the price of such a determination." This proposal, he expected, would have been received with gratitude and joy; but the Centurion, undertaking to reply in behalf of himself and his comrades, thus answered: " I greatly thank you, generous Scipio, in that being your prisoner you have proffered to me my life and liberty, offers which I should rejoice to accept, if I could do so without incurring a stain on my character: but shall I go and present myself in battle against Cæsar, after having fought for him during so many years? shall I unsheath the sword against those beloved friends and companions for whom I have so often hazarded my life? I intreat you not to compel me; and if you desire to prove your forces, give me only ten of my comrades, to oppose to an equal number from one of your cohorts, and judge of the issue of the war by that of our combat." Scipio, indignant at this proposal, had the cruelty to order him to be put to death on the spot. The generous conqueror of Carthage would have shown greater respect to the fidelity of this intrepid Centurion.

Louis XII. of France had been induced, by the representation of the Archduke Philip, to enter into a treaty for the termination of the war he was carrying on in Italy against the Archduke's father-in-law, Ferdinand, king of Spain. There is little doubt but that the Archduke considerably exceeded the authority given him by Ferdinand, who, knowing his friendly disposition towards the French king, had closely limited the powers with which he reluctantly entrusted him for this mediation between them. Accordingly when it came to a ratification of the treaty agreed upon at Lyons between Louis and the Archduke, Ferdinand, who meantime had received news of the great victory gained by Gonzalvo and his army over the French troops at Cerignola, (1503,) positively refused to conclude a peace upon the terms arranged, and declared, by a fresh embassy to Louis, that he never would ratify a treaty made in contravention of his orders. He endeavoured however, says an excellent historian of his reign, Mr. Prescott, to gain further time, by spinning out the negotiation, holding up for this purpose, the prospect of an ultimate accommodation, and suggesting the re-establishment of his kinsman, the unfortunate Frederic, on the Neapolitan throne, as the best means of effecting it. But this artifice was too gross even for the credulous Louis, who peremptorily demanded of the ambassadors the instant and absolute ratification of

the treaty, and, on their declaring it was beyond their power, ordered them at once to leave his court. "I had rather," he nobly exclaimed, "suffer the loss of a kingdom, which perhaps may be retrieved, than the loss of honour, which never can."

Virtue has been said to be the political stimulus of republics, and honour that of monarchies. It is true, a more vigorous energy is supposed to belong to the former: but it is allowed at the same time that honour often supplies the place of virtue, and is its most faithful representative, that it inspires the most heroic actions, and, when united with the strength of legal authority, effects all the purposes of governments as well as virtue itself.* If such be the powerful operation of this principle as to supply the place even of virtue; if it seeks its reward in the public estimation, what are the duties which it does not impose upon us? But it is needless here to enlarge upon this principle of honour: it is a sentiment which was born with all good men; and our own hearts instruct us more fully on this subject, than all that the greatest wisdom could teach.

But there is a species of false honour, which is

- * "Honour's a sacred tie, the law of kings;
The noble mind's distinguishing perfection;
That aids and strengthens virtue where it meets her,
And imitates her actions where she is not."

ADDISON'S TRAGEDY OF CATO.

too frequently confounded with that which is genuine and true. The latter is mild, modest, noble, generous, and conciliating : the former restless, turbulent, suspicious, quarrelsome, insupportable in its pretensions, jealous, and presumptuous ; it is pride, beneath the mask of delicacy ; it cannot forgive even a smile, or an innocent and harmless pleasantry ; it breathes nothing but quarrels and combats. He that entertains this false sentiment, is never a safe companion. Whether you lead or follow him, it is at your peril : for he neither receives nor admits of any excuses, and though he may be a man of spirit and courage, he makes the most injurious and dangerous use of these qualities. He is the bane of social intercourse, as the superstitious person is the perverter of true religion.

As there is a false honour, so is there likewise a false species of bravery, which puts on an air of impudent defiance, blustering in public, despising courtesy, and unawed by the presence of superiors, however they may excel in station, in wisdom, or in virtue. Such persons, little anxious for the esteem of those around them, seem to think that everybody ought to be afraid of them ; and look upon affability and modesty as unmanly weaknesses.

This false notion of honour and of bravery is a remnant of the barbarism of our ancestors, with whom it was frequently prevalent ; and how much

precious blood has been sacrificed to this mistaken principle! It is now, however, more justly estimated by the truly brave; they look upon it as one of the most destructive plagues that can afflict a nation. They cherish that honour which renders them formidable to the enemies of the state, and condemn that false principle which is as far removed from real glory, as the brave man is from the blusterer.

A severe rebuke, and one which to a man of true honour would have been worse than death, was that which William III. administered to General Hamilton, when he made him prisoner at the battle of the Boyne (1690). The river had been successfully passed by William's troops, but the Irish horse continued to make a brave resistance on the plain beyond; and Hamilton, who commanded them, had so checked the advance of the King near Dunore, that he was only able to bring up his cavalry by riding along the front of the Enniskillen dragoons, and with the animation peculiar to him in moments of danger, calling out, What would they now do for him? Their answer was a determined charge, and Hamilton being slightly wounded, and dismounted in this attack, was taken prisoner. After the battle, on being brought to the King, he was asked by him, Did he believe the Irish troops would fight any longer? "Yes, sire," answered Hamilton, "upon my honour I believe they

will." This expression reminding William of his former treacherous behaviour in the negotiation he had undertaken for him with Tyrconnel, he gave him a look of disdain, and saying merely, "Four honour!" turned from him without another word.

A man of truly honourable mind, if he should at any time, through imprudence or accident, unintentionally give offence, will not hesitate to make a suitable apology.

Henry IV. of France exhibited a fine example of this sensibility, in the case of Theodoric Schomberg, a Colonel of German mercenaries, who was serving in his army in his campaign against the Duke of Mayenne and the Spaniards (1590). This officer, for whose valour and abilities he had a great respect, came to him (pressed by the almost mutinous spirit of his men) the day before the battle of Ivry, to urge the payment of some of their arrears. Henry, irritated in the midst of his anxieties and arrangements, previous to a battle where the enemy's numbers were fully double the army he commanded, hastily asked him, "Was that a time to come for pay, when he ought to be asking for his orders to prepare for battle?" and drove him from his presence. Schomberg withdrew overwhelmed with vexation and distress at this unmerited treatment, for his object had only been, to secure the obedience of his unmanageable troops, until the

battle should have taken place. Next day he appeared at the head of his squadrons with a countenance of deep depression, which Henry presently observing, and immediately recollecting what had passed the previous evening, rode up to him with kindness and friendship in his looks, and said loud enough to be heard by all around, "Monsieur Schomberg, I have offended you. This day may, perhaps, be the last of my life: God forbid that I should fall, under the impression that I had insulted the honour of a gentleman, without any offer for the reparation of such an injury! I am convinced both of your valour and your merit. I entreat you to pardon me."—"It is true," answered the Colonel, "that your Majesty wounded me lately, but to-day you kill me; for your conduct at this instant will force me to sacrifice my life in your service." Before the end of the combat this brave man was slain, fighting by the side of the King.

The times of chivalry certainly gave very high notions of honour to those who aspired to military fame and renown, and many instances are on record of this feeling being carried far beyond what has been the practice in more modern warfare. About the year 1344, two years before the battle of Crecy, Edward III. had employed his cousin, the Earl of Derby, for the government and defence of the rich province of Guienne. This nobleman not

only secured Guienne, but pushed his troops into the neighbouring provinces, and made several successful attacks on the French forces which attempted to check his inroads, and captured, among other towns, the important city of Angouleme. The reason this Earl was enabled to carry on his conquests with little opposition was the extreme ruin and depression of the finances of King Philip ; but at length, having recruited his army, and obtained some supplies, the King sent his eldest son, the Duke of Normandy, against the Earl, who, unable to meet so formidable an enemy, was reduced to the defensive, and obliged to remain a passive observer while the Duke of Normandy laid siege to Angouleme. This city was defended by Lord Norwich, an able and experienced officer, with a good garrison ; but after a brave and resolute resistance, finding the place no longer tenable against the overwhelming force of the French, he had recourse to a stratagem which certainly evinced a wonderful confidence in the chivalrous honour of the French prince. He presented himself one day on the walls of the town, and by his herald demanded a conference with the Duke, who shortly arrived for the purpose, and opened the business by saying to Lord Norwich that he concluded he had made up his mind to capitulate. " Not at all," replied the Governor ; " but as to-morrow is the Feast of the Virgin, to whom I

know that you, sir, as well as myself bear a great devotion, I desire a cessation of arms for that day." This proposal the Duke at once agreed to ; but early the next morning the besiegers, to their surprise, beheld one of the gates suddenly thrown open, and the whole garrison, with Lord Norwich at their head, deliberately marching out of the town with all their baggage. The French flew to arms, and were about to attack the head of the column, when they were met by a herald from Lord Norwich to the Duke of Normandy, sent to remind him of his engagement for a cessation of arms for the day, and to claim his right to march, even through the French camp, without molestation.

To the great honour of the Duke of Normandy, who piqued himself on keeping his word, he satisfied himself with exclaiming, " I see this Governor has outwitted me. Let us be content with gaining the town." Nor would he permit the smallest hindrance to be opposed to the free passage and escape of the English garrison through the camp.

John, King of France, had been (as alluded to in a former essay) made prisoner by the Black Prince at the battle of Poictiers, and carried to London till his ransom should be stipulated and paid. The sum fixed upon was very great, being near a million and a-half of our money, and the distresses of the French nation so severe, that the utmost difficulty was to be

expected in raising it. Such, however, was the agreement made at the peace of Bretigni, in 1360, in which were many clauses relative to what portions of the English conquests should be retained or exchanged, and a distinct renouncement, on the part of Edward, of his unjust and unreasonable claim to the crown of France

In consequence of this treaty, the King of France was brought over to Calais ; whither Edward also soon after repaired : and there both princes solemnly ratified the peace. John was sent to Boulogne ; the King accompanied him a mile on his journey ; and the two monarchs parted with many professions, probably cordial and sincere, of mutual amity. The good disposition of John made him fully sensible of the generous treatment which he had received in England, and obliterated all memory of the ascendant gained over him by his rival. There seldom has been a treaty of so great importance, so faithfully executed, by both parties. Edward had scarcely, from the beginning, entertained any hopes of acquiring the crown of France : by restoring John to his liberty, and making peace at a juncture so favourable to his arms, he had now plainly renounced all pretensions of this nature ; he had sold at a very high price that chimerical claim : and had at present no other interest than to retain those acquisitions which he had made with such singular

prudence and good fortune. John, on the other hand, though the terms were severe, was a man of such fidelity and honour, that he was determined to execute them, and to use every expedient for acquitting himself honourably towards a monarch who had indeed been his greatest political enemy, but had treated him personally with singular generosity and regard. But, notwithstanding his endeavours, there occurred many difficulties in fulfilling his purpose; chiefly from the extreme reluctance which many towns and vassals in the neighbourhood of Guienne expressed, against submitting to the English dominion; and John, in order to adjust these differences, took a resolution of coming over himself to England. His council endeavoured to dissuade him from this design; and probably would have been pleased to see him employ some chicanery for eluding the execution of so disadvantageous a treaty; but John replied to them, *that though good faith were banished from the rest of the earth, she ought still to retain her habitation in the breasts of princes*, and repaired to London, where he was residing at the Savoy Palace, when he was unfortunately seized with a violent illness, which carried him off the following year.

Very different was the conduct of Francis I. after his capture, in 1525, at the terrible defeat of Pavia. Though on that occasion he behaved himself with a

spirit and gallantry which compelled the admiration of his greatest enemies, announcing his misfortune to his mother the Regent by the short and touching sentence, "Madame, tout est perdu hors l'honneur," yet he by no means maintained that honour spotless, when tried by the hardships and vexations of imprisonment. Lannoy, who commanded the army of Charles V. at Pavia, was in the first instance uneasy lest his mutinous troops should seize the person of the French King, as a security for long arrears of pay which were owing to them; and though he behaved to him with courtesy, yet he deemed it his duty to confine him with a strictness very galling to that high-spirited monarch, until he could convey him by sea from Genoa to Spain, an arrangement to which Francis readily acceded, in the hope of obtaining personally from the Emperor, easier terms than those first announced to him. But when he arrived at Madrid, he found himself still guarded and confined in a manner so severe, that it injured his health; and finding the interview he had so anxiously desired only led to promises and professions, the vexation quite overwhelmed his mind; and at length his patience entirely giving way, he actually declared he would abdicate his crown, in favour of his son; and took measures for the purpose. Alarmed at this, Charles deemed it far more for his interest, to conclude a less stringent

bargain than to risk the accession of the Dauphin to the throne of France, which would have cancelled all his schemes, by leaving in his hands a prince without dominion or revenues, instead of a powerful monarch, bent on gaining his liberty at a price of no small value. On the other hand, Francis became daily more eager for liberty, and persuaded himself that whatever concessions of territory he might be reduced to make, he could, when once at liberty, recover them by conquest.

Such being the views of the two monarchs, a treaty was eventually signed at Madrid, by which Francis was to surrender Burgundy, and make other considerable concessions, for the fulfilment of which hostages should be sent to Spain; but before signing this treaty, he secretly assembled his personal attendants, and by a subterfuge as unworthy as it was useless, made in their presence a formal protest, that his consent to the conditions imposed on him was null and void, and extorted by hardship and ill-treatment.

After the signing of the treaty, Francis was yet detained at Madrid, till its ratification was received from Paris, and though treated with all outward courtesy, was still carefully watched. At length it was settled that he should be exchanged on the frontiers, for two of his younger sons, whom the Regent, his mother, had resolved to send instead of

twelve noblemen, as first proposed, considering them of less consequence to the state, and at the same time sure of kind treatment at the hands of the Emperor, from their youth and high rank.

When Francis arrived at the river Andaye, under the escort of Alarçon, Lautrec appeared on the opposite shore with a guard of horse of equal number. An empty vessel was moored in the middle of the river, to which Francis, from the Spanish side, and his two sons from the French side, were at the same moment conveyed in boats; there they were exchanged, and Francis, after embracing his children, leaped into Lautrec's boat, and soon reached the French shore. He instantly mounted a horse, waved his hand over his head, and exclaiming joyfully, "I am yet a king," galloped to St. Jean de Luz, and from thence to Bayonne, on his way for Paris. Once again in his capital, his first step in duplicity was to tell the Emperor's ambassador, that so many of the conditions related to the rights and interests of his subjects, and not to himself personally, that he could not execute them without reference to the States, and therefore that much delay must be expected. He then busied himself to conclude a secret alliance, (afterwards called the Holy League,) with Henry VIII. of England, the Pope, and the Venetians, of which the chief object was to oblige the Emperor to release the

hostage Princes, for a reasonable ransom, and to obtain various relaxations of the treaty of Madrid, the Pope at the same time solemnly relieving him of the oath he had taken for the observance of that treaty. Charles now sending Lannoy and Alarçon to Paris to press for the performance of the treaty of Madrid, he caused them to be present at a deputation from the States of Burgundy, who solemnly represented, that he had exceeded his powers, in undertaking to dismember their province from France, which realm his coronation oath bound him to preserve entire. This he told the ambassadors was his answer to their demand; and not content with so gross a disregard of his obligations, he actually published the Holy League, before these ambassadors had left his dominions on their return to Madrid: a melancholy instance of a want of true honour, in a Prince whose chivalrous character on other occasions would have led the world to expect far superior sentiments and behaviour.

We will now turn to an instance of a very different kind.

In the year 1648, when the fortunes of Charles I. began to wear their worst aspect, it was the great object of the Queen, Henrietta Maria, who had taken refuge in France, that her second son, afterwards James II., should escape and join her and the Prince of Wales at Paris. Accordingly Miss Strick-

land tells us that in “ one of those interviews with the unfortunate King, which were sometimes permitted by the Earl of Northumberland, into whose custody the Parliament had committed James, the young Prince obtained his father’s consent to make his escape, if opportunity should occur ; he closely retained the secret, but the idea, as he afterwards declared, never left him night or day, though he had no one about him to whom he could confide it. The Queen was in constant correspondence with agents in England, to effect his escape, but the chief difficulty was, that he had once given a promise to the Earl of Northumberland, that he would not receive any letters whatsoever, without his knowledge. So strictly did the young boy keep this promise, that, as he was going into the tennis-court in St. James’s Palace, a person, whom he knew to be perfectly faithful, offered to slip a letter into his hand, saying softly to him, ‘ It is from the Queen.’ James answered, ‘ *I must keep my promise, and for that reason I cannot receive it.*’ As he spoke thus, he passed onward, so that no notice was taken of the colloquy. This incident was told to the Queen at Paris, who was much displeased, and said angrily, ‘ What can James mean by refusing a letter from me ?’ He afterwards explained to her in Paris, after his escape, that his boyish honour was pledged, and the Queen declared that she was satisfied.”

In the year 1689, when the last struggle was about to take place in Scotland for James II., Graham of Claverhouse, created Viscount Dundee, tried to induce the Duke of Gordon to join him, and never was the excuse of honour worse pleaded than by the Duke, for holding back from his party. Dalrymple thus relates the matter.

“Dundee, enraged at his enemies, and still more at his friends, resolved to return to the Highlands, and to make preparations for civil war, but with secrecy, for he had been ordered by James to make no public insurrection, until assistance should be sent him from Ireland. While Dundee was in this temper, information was brought him, whether true or false, is uncertain, that some of the Covenanters had associated themselves to assassinate him, in revenge for his former severities against their party. He flew to the Convention, and demanded justice. The Duke of Hamilton, who wished to get rid of a troublesome adversary, treated his complaint with neglect; and, in order to sting him in the tenderest part, reflected upon that courage which could be alarmed by imaginary dangers. Dundee left the house in a rage, mounted his horse, and with a troop of fifty horsemen, who had deserted to him from his regiment in England, galloped through the city. Being asked by one of his friends, who stopped him, where he was going,

he waved his hat, and answered, "Wherever the spirit of Montrose shall direct me." In passing under the walls of the castle, he stopped, scrambled up the precipice at a place difficult and dangerous, and held a conference with the Duke of Gordon, at a postern gate, the marks of which are still to be seen, though the gate itself is built up. Hoping, in vain, to infuse the vigour of his own spirit into the Duke, he pressed him to retire with him into the Highlands, raise his vassals there, who were numerous, brave, and faithful, and leave the command of the castle to Winram, the Lieutenant-Governor, an officer on whom Dundee could rely. The Duke concealed his timidity under a paltry excuse. 'A soldier,' said he, 'cannot *in honour* quit the post that is assigned him.' "

Towards the end of the Peninsular war, a very practical illustration of the true meaning and spirit of military honour was given by Lord Wellington, on occasion of a remonstrance made to him by the Commander of a Spanish Division, against an order to place his men under arms for several hours, as a punishment for their disorderly conduct, and wanton plunder of the peasantry on entering the French frontier. This mode of punishing irregularities of the same description had, on more occasions than one, been applied by the British Commander to his own troops, and had produced a salutary effect; but the

Spaniard, though aware of this, declared that it was not applicable to the armies of Spain, that it was too much of a degradation, and an insult to what they called their point of honour (*pun d'onor*). Lord Wellington listened patiently to all the Spanish General had to say upon it, and then contented himself with simply reminding him, that to steal the pigs and poultry of the poor inhabitants of the village, was a far greater disgrace, than to stand under arms, and that it was the crime, and not the punishment, which was the real offence against that *pun d'onor*, for which he appeared to entertain so much veneration and respect.

ESSAY XIV.

ON DUELLING.

THE principle of duelling is very far from constituting an essential and necessary part of true honour. The ancient Greeks and Romans never wore swords but in war; nor were any duels ever fought among them. If they challenged one another, it was either a contest between rival princes, and to prevent a greater effusion of blood; or else it was to fight singly against the enemies of their country. Cæsar has given us a remarkable instance of this kind of challenge, in his Commentaries. Two centurions of high rank, T. Pulvio and L. Varenus, having, with great animosity, long contested which was the braver man, or most worthy of preferment, and being both present at Cæsar's camp, when assaulted

by the Gauls, the former, in the heat of the attack, called aloud to the latter in these words: "Why should you remain in doubt, Varenus? What fairer opportunity can you desire for the proof of your valour? This, this shall be the day to decide our controversies." Immediately after this spirited call, Pulvio went out of the camp, and rushed upon the enemy. Varenus followed his rival, who, with his javelin, slew the first of the Gauls that engaged him; but being attacked by a shower of darts, one of them pierced his shield, and stuck after such a manner, in his belt, as prevented him from drawing his sword. The enemy presently surrounded him, thus encumbered, and unable to defend himself. At this instant, Varenus came up to his assistance, slew one, and drove the rest before him; but pursuing them too eagerly, he stumbled and fell. Pulvio, who had now disencumbered himself from the dart, and drawn his sword, came very seasonably to the rescue of Varenus, with whom, after having slain many of the Gauls, he returned in safety and glory to the camp. Thus this war-like nation did not, in their private quarrels, sheath their swords in each other's breast: contests of valour among them were only calls and incitements to the performance of glorious and patriotic deeds.

The Baron de Lunebourg, Colonel of one of the mercenary German regiments which served

under the Duke of Guise, in the civil wars of France, was much displeased at the Duke examining, as he thought, too closely into the equipment and arms of his soldiers; and so far lost the respect due to his illustrious Commander, as to pull out one of his pistols, and present it at the Duke; who immediately, with the greatest coolness, drew his sword, and knocked the pistol out of his hand. Guise's Aide-de-camp was about to put the officer to death instantly; but was interrupted by the Duke, who said: "Stop, sir; do not you think I can kill a man as well as yourself, when I think fit?" Then turning to the German, he addressed him: "As for you, sir, I forgive the insult you have put upon me; but with respect of that which you have offered to the service of my sovereign, of whose person I am the representative, his majesty will settle that as he pleases."

Turenne, when he was a young officer, at the siege of a fortified town, had a couple of challenges sent him; both of which he put into his pocket, without further notice: but being soon after commanded upon a desperate attack on some part of the fortifications, he sent a note to each of the challengers, acquainting them that he had received their letters, which he deferred answering till a proper occasion offered, both for them and himself, to exert their courage for the king's service; that

being ordered to assault the enemy's works the next day, he desired their company,—when they would have an opportunity of signalizing their own bravery, and of being witnesses of his own zeal for his country's honour.

General Coote, who commanded the expedition to Ostend, was examined, after his return to England, as a witness before a general court-martial held upon a certain field-officer for alleged misconduct in that expedition. The Court sentenced the officer in question to be dismissed from his Majesty's service; who, when thus freed from the military character, sent the General a challenge. General Coote immediately applied to the Court of King's Bench; and, at the same time, reported the matter to the Commander-in-Chief. His Royal Highness, in reply, observed, "that his Majesty had been pleased to express his entire approbation of the General's conduct; who, by having recourse to the laws of his country, had exhibited a spirit every way becoming a good soldier." To this approbation, his Royal Highness added his own; with directions that the communication should be entered in the orders of every regiment in the service.

During the last century, duels were lamentably frequent among military men. Young officers were often led to believe that their military career ought to be begun with an immediate proof of their

bravery, either by quarrelling with, or challenging, some of their companions. Hence they assumed a tone and air of insolence and self-sufficiency, which disgusted officers of the best natural temper and disposition, and sometimes obliged them to chastise the insulting and disdainful manners of these heroes. A ludicrous story is told of one of this description. As Colonel Guise was going over to Flanders in a packet, about the year 1742, he noticed a very raw young officer, who was taking his passage in the same vessel ; and with his usual good-nature, offered to let him travel in a chaise with him to Antwerp, whither they were both going : which he accordingly accepted with thanks and acknowledgments. The young fellow joined his regiment, and was shortly afterwards told, by some whom he happened to meet in company, that he should signalize himself by fighting a man of known courage, or else he would be despised in the regiment. He replied, that he knew no one so answerable to that description as Colonel Guise ; but from him, he had received great obligations. That made no difference, they said, in these cases ; the Colonel was the fittest man in the world, as everybody knew his bravery. Believing them in earnest, therefore, the young officer addressed Colonel Guise one day as he was walking up and down in the coffee-house ; and began, in a hesitating manner, to tell him how much obliged

he had been to him, and how sensible he was of his kindness. "Sir," replied Guise, "I have done what was courteous by you, and no more." "But, Colonel, added the other, faltering, "I am told that I must fight some gentleman of known courage, and who has killed several persons; and that nobody ——" "Oh, sir!" replied the Colonel, "your friends do me too much honour; but there is a gentleman," showing him a fierce-looking, black fellow, that was sitting at one of the tables, "who has killed half the regiment." On this the young officer approaches the person pointed out, and tells him, he is well informed of his bravery, and that, for that reason, he requests he will fight him. "Who, me, sir?" replied the gentleman: "why, I am an *apothecary*."

It is generally an officer's own fault, if he is led into disputes, and there is scarcely any one that will take the pains to examine the ground of these disputes, but will be forced to acknowledge that he might have avoided them, without any injury to his reputation. They mostly originate either from defects in ourselves, or from those which we fancy in others. It is almost invariably a trifling indiscretion, a severe remark, a false rumour, a sudden vexation, some insignificant fact asserted without proof, or some idle display of vanity or pride, which gives occasion to duels. There are

surely few injuries of such a nature, which a little prudence might not prevent, or which might not be set right by good-humour or a reasonable excuse. A young man who discovers discretion, modesty, and at the same time true courage, will always find right-thinking persons disposed to take his part against the bully that seeks to involve him in fruitless quarrels.

General Oglethorpe,* when a very young officer, (only fifteen,) was one day sitting in a military company at table with the Prince of Wirtemberg. The Prince took up a glass of wine; and, by a fillip, made some of it fly in Oglethorpe's face. Here was an awkward dilemma. To have challenged him might have fixed a quarrelsome character upon the young soldier: to have taken no notice of it, might have been considered as cowardice. Oglethorpe, therefore, keeping his eye upon the Prince, and smiling all the time, as if he took in jest what his Highness had done, said: "Prince, that's a good joke; but we do it much better in England;" and threw a whole glass of wine in the Prince's face. An old general, who sat by, said: "He is in the right, my Prince; you began it!" The Prince at once saw his error and the justice of this reproof of the old officer, and shaking young Oglethorpe by the hand, the whole ended in good-humour.

* This was the same person who distinguished himself in the war with the Spaniards in America, in 1741.

The Turks allow no duels. Busbequins, the Emperor Rodolph II.'s ambassador to the Porte, at the latter end of the sixteenth century, tells us of a reprimand given to an officer by a Pasha at Constantinople, for boasting that he had challenged his enemy. "How durst thou," said he, "challenge thy fellow-soldier to a duel? What! was there not a Christian to fight with? Do not both of you eat of the Sultan's bread? And yet you must go about to take away each other's lives! Do not you know, that whoever of the two had died, the Sultan had lost a subject?" The challenger was then ordered to prison, where he lay many months; and was at last with difficulty released.

"He" says Addison, "who has no other recommendation than bravery, is ill qualified to make an agreeable figure in the world; for he will not know how to employ the talent which sets him above others, without creating, or finding for himself, enemies."

Modesty and humanity are among the most valuable qualities of an officer. He who is sincerely religious is modest, because he refers everything to an arm stronger than his own; he is humane, because humanity is one of the first attributes of religion; these are the qualities which render the officer patient under vexation, and fatigue, obedient to his superiors, kind to his companions; which, in short, instruct him that life itself is no

other than a deposit, which he ought to preserve, or to risk, only according as his duty and the interests of his country require.

Colonel Gardiner, who was killed at the battle of Preston Pans, in the year 1745, and who was deeply impressed with a sense of religion, having once received a challenge, answered the challenger : " I fear sinning, though you know I do not fear fighting."

This was indeed setting a bright example, respecting the practice of duelling. Still the principles of our conduct and character must, in every situation, be, to a certain degree, regulated in conformity with the opinions and prejudices of those among whom we live. It was much to be regretted, that duelling was not till lately looked upon in this light by the army at large. And here it may be not unacceptable to review some of the arguments which have been adduced on this subject by authors of our own country.

Mandeville, a clever though eccentric philosophical writer, thus expresses himself :—

" Without obeying the sentimental influence of honour," says this author, " there would be no living in a populous nation. It is the tie of society : and although we are beholden to our frailties for the chief ingredient of it, there has been no virtue, at least that I am acquainted with, which has proved

half so instrumental to the civilizing of mankind ; who, in great societies, would soon degenerate into cruel villains and treacherous slaves, were honour to be removed from among them.

“ Yet, in regard to duelling, I pity the unfortunate person whose lot is to be inevitably exposed to a perilous encounter ; but cannot agree with those who say, that the persons guilty of such daring exertion proceed by false rules or mistaken notions of honour ; because, as I understand the word, either there is no honour at all, or it teaches men to resent injuries, and accept challenges. For they may as well deny that which we see everybody wear, to be the prevailing fashion, as to declare, that demanding and giving satisfaction is against the laws of true honour.

“ The inconsiderate opponents who rail against duelling, do not reflect on the benefit which society receives from that fashionable intrepidity. If every ill-bred fellow might use what language he pleased with impunity, and continue offensive because intrenched from the fear of being called to an account for it, then all conversation would be spoiled.

“ We are informed, indeed, by some grave philosophical folks, that the Greeks and Romans, who were undoubtedly most valiant men, were totally ignorant of duelling, and never drew their swords, but against an enemy in their country's quarrel.

This is most true; but for that very reason, the kings and princes in *Homer* gave one another worse language than our porters and hackney-coachmen would be able to bear, without resentment, and insisting on an immediate satisfaction being made to them.

“ Would the legislature prevent duelling as much as possible, let nobody be pardoned who shall offend that way; and let the laws against it be made as severe as possible; but the practice of it cannot, and should not, be *entirely* abolished. The rigour of the law will prevent the frequency of it, by rendering the most resolute, and the most powerful, cautious, and circumspect in their behaviour, not to wantonly trespass against it; and consequently that apprehension will polish and brighten society in general.

“ Man is civilized by nothing so irresistibly as by his fear; for, according to Lord Rochester’s oracular sentiment, ‘ if not all, at least most men, would be cowards if they durst.’ The dread of being called to a personal account, keeps abundance of people in awe; and there are now many thousands of mannerly and well-accomplished gentlemen in Europe, who would have turned out very insolent, and very insupportable, coxcombs, without so salutary a curb, to keep under restraint their natural petulance.

“ Whenever it shall become unfashionable to demand a manly satisfaction for such injuries as the law cannot take hold of, then will there most certainly be committed twenty times the mischief that there is now ; or else the present number of constables and other peace-officers must be increased twenty-fold.

“ Notwithstanding every rational person must own that the act of duelling, in itself, is uncharitable, unsocial, nay, inhuman ; yet when we consider how many destroy themselves by suicide, and how few are killed by others in duelling, surely it cannot be said of our people, that they love themselves better than their neighbours.”

These seem rather strange and far-fetched arguments in these days, but even our great English moralist arrived at a conclusion in some respects similar to Mandeville.

“ As men become in a high degree refined,” says Dr. Johnson, (in one of his conversations,) “ various causes of offence arise, which are considered to be of such importance, that life must be staked to atone for them, though in reality they are not so. A body that has received a very fine polish, may be easily hurt. Before men arrive at this artificial refinement, if one tells his neighbour he lies, his neighbour tells him *he* lies ; if one gives his neighbour a blow, his neighbour gives *him* a blow : but in

a state of highly-polished society, an affront is held to be a serious injury. It must, therefore, be resented, or rather a duel must be fought upon it; as men have agreed to banish from their society one who puts up with an affront without fighting a duel. Now, it is never unlawful to fight in self defence. He, then, who fights a duel, does not always fight from passion against his antagonist, but out of self-defence; to avert the stigma of the world, and to prevent himself from being driven out of society; I could wish that there were not that superfluity of refinement; but while such notions prevail, no doubt a man may lawfully fight a duel. Let it be remembered, however, that this justification is applicable only to the person who *receives* an affront. All mankind must condemn the aggressor."

Such was the opinion of Johnson in accordance with the spirit of his times. But every one must perceive the great change for the better which has appeared of late years. Orders and commands against duelling were formerly regarded as a mere dead letter, and it is only within a very few years, that the officers of the army have cordially supported the authorities, in the praiseworthy endeavour to suppress duelling in our regiments. The consequence has been, that far more harmony prevails among the military—a bully is no longer capable of mischief. He is scouted and avoided if he attempts

to harass his comrades, and finds it his only chance of comfort to lay aside his overbearing propensities and conform to general opinion.

In the reign of John King of France, a national duel was fought in that kingdom between two parties of the English and the French nobility, thirty on each side. The quarrel originated in the murder of an English knight. The combatants fought on horseback, with lances, mallets, and bill-hooks. At the beginning of the contest, the principal of the English assured his companions, that he had a prophecy of Merlin in his favour, which promised him victory. Several were slain on each side ; but the result is said to have falsified the alleged prediction of the English bard.

Single combats, in resentment of private or personal injuries, did not become common in France till the reign of Francis I., who, in vindication of his character thought proper to send a cartel of defiance to his rival, the Emperor Charles V. The example was contagious, and thenceforth every one thought himself entitled to draw his sword, and to call on his adversary to make reparation for any affront or injury that seemed to touch his honour. The introduction of such an opinion among men of fierce courage, lofty sentiments, and rude manners, was productive of the most fatal consequences. A disdainful look, a disrespectful word, or even a

ON DUELLING.

haughty stride, sufficed to provoke a challenge, and much of the best blood in Christendom, in defiance of the laws, was wantonly spilled in these frivolous contests, which, towards the close of the sixteenth century, were scarcely less destructive than the war itself.

But this practice of duelling, though alike pernicious and absurd, was eventually followed by some beneficial effects. It made men more respectful in their behaviour to each other, less ostentatious in conversation, and more tender of living characters, but especially of female reputation; and the gentleness of manners introduced by this restraint, while it has contributed to social happiness, has rendered duels themselves less frequent, by removing the causes of offence.

Henry II., who succeeded Francis, declared against the practice of duelling in that kingdom; and, on account of the death of his favourite in a duel, he published an edict to that purpose. It was found, however, that from the fashion which prevailed, duels became daily more frequent, in despite of the prohibition.

It was in the reign of Henry III. that we first find mention of the dreadful practice of the seconds taking part with their principals in duels. Before that period they were present only to see fair play,

to arrange the ground, measure the swords, and place the combatants with equal advantage of the sun, &c., as was afterwards reverted to in more modern days.

As soon as Henry IV. was firmly seated on the throne, he published a second prohibitory edict against duelling; yet he not long afterwards violated his own law, by indulging the brave Crequi with a secret permission to fight Don Philip the Bastard, of Savoy.

Louis XIII. issued a third mandate to the same effect. The rage for duelling had been carried to such a height in this reign, that when acquaintances met, the usual inquiry was not, "What is the news of the day?" but, "Who fought yesterday?"

Louis XIV. caused several further edicts to be promulgated against duelling. He thus alludes to the enactment of these regulations, in his celebrated address to his son: "I added some fresh penalties to those which had been imposed against duels, and made my subjects know that neither birth nor rank would exempt any one from them. I banished from my court the Count of Soissons, who had called out the Duke of Navailles; and I imprisoned in the Bastille the person who carried the challenge, though the affair was not brought to its termination."

On one occasion, in the minority of this monarch, the principals and the seconds had fought, five against five, and three of the parties were killed.

Thus sometimes not only one, two, or three, but numerous seconds on both sides were summoned, not merely as spectators, but to be acting parties in the encounter ; and it frequently happened, that, when on either side, by any unforeseen accident, one of the stipulated number was wanted, a messenger was despatched in quest of the first gentleman that could be got, to hasten and be a partaker in a combat of honour,—which no person of that rank could refuse ; so that those who rose up peaceably in the morning, without being embroiled in any dispute or quarrel whatever, could not answer for their not being participants in some bloody affray before night.

The last remarkable instance of this kind, in France, was when the servant of a duellist (a man of family) who wanted one of his number, was seen galloping through the streets of Paris, and crying aloud for the first gentleman he chanced to meet, instantly to mount the horse he was on, and ride away to the field of battle to which he should direct him. The gentleman he met, acted accordingly ; this being a duty which all persons of that rank held indispensable, as, in a like difficulty, they were to hope for a similar assistance.

It was also at a later time a custom in that country,

that the officers of certain regiments, from some antiquated dispute, perhaps of a many years before, were to fight wherever they met, upon the slightest look or expression, whether really intended as an affront or only imagined to be such ; though the gentlemen, before they had assumed their respective uniforms, might have been intimate acquaintances and friends.

Owing to this absurd custom, a melancholy catastrophe happened in the province of Languedoc to two young officers, in the reign of Louis XV. The name of one of them was De l'Isle ; and that of the other, De La Fosse. They had been both born in the same town, and had passed their infancy, and the first part of their youthful years, together, as school-fellows, whence a most cordial friendship had been contracted. Unfortunately for them, they obtained commissions in two different regiments, between whom had long subsisted an unremitting animosity. De l'Isle's regiment was upon duty at Montpellier ; and De La Fosse bore a commission in the rival corps, that was to succeed it. The latter having a strong desire to visit his friend De l'Isle, obtained leave to go to Montpellier for that purpose a few days before the regiment was to march out of that town.

De l'Isle was transported with joy at seeing him. Having dined together, they walked out to a kind of licensed gaming-house, in the plea-

sant environs of that city. They played a few games; and De l'Isle having the run of cards in his favour, won every one. The other, somewhat piqued, said unguardedly, "Is it possible to win so? How do you contrive to get such cards?" "Keep your temper," replied De l'Isle, "the cards may favour you in a game or two more." This friendly altercation ended in a laugh on both sides. They went home, supped together, and bid each other farewell, De l'Isle being to set out from Montpellier, with his regiment the next morning.

Unhappily for them both, and quite unknown to De l'Isle, an officer of his corps, who had got intelligence of De la Fosse's belonging to the regiment adverse to theirs, stood behind while they played at cards, in order to observe what should pass between them. The busy listener had overheard the imprudent expressions at losing, which De la Fosse's warmth of temper on the occasion had led him to use. These he construed as an affront, which, on account of the then subsisting regimental antipathy, was not to be endured; and, waiting on De l'Isle in the morning, he told him his sense of the affair, and that he must go and demand immediate satisfaction, both for the sake of his own honour, and that of the corps to which he belonged.

De l'Isle, alarmed at the cruel purport of this

unexpected visit, tried to explain to his brother-officer the undesigning and good-natured character of his friend : that they had been intimate from their infancy ; that the fatal consequences, perhaps, of such a transaction would effectually ruin his peace of mind for ever, should he be the survivor. All his excuses, however, were treated as unmanly ; and he was told he might do as he pleased, but that a faithful account of what had passed should be laid before his superior officers. With this menace the brutal informer left De l'Isle, in order to carry his threats into execution.

Torn with anxiety and horror, De l'Isle went to his friend's lodging, and acquainted him with the terrible dilemma they were both in, and that the barbarous mandate of military usage must be obeyed. They went out upon the ramparts of the town, drew their swords with great regret against each other, and soon received on both sides wounds sufficient to disable them from continuing the combat any more that day, as well as to atone, in the judgment of any men but refined barbarians, for so trifling—nay, so imaginary—an affront. This duel was fought in sight of some of De l'Isle's officers, who had been sent on purpose to observe him. As soon as he got his wounds dressed, he repaired to his superior officers, who would not see him, but, shocking to say, or—

dered it to be intimated to him, that what he had done was not enough, because one of the parties must die.

In consequence of this merciless injunction, the distracted youths, neither desiring to outlive his friend, by mutual agreement ran upon each other's sword, in the hope of expiring together; which was nearly the case, for De la Fosse dropt on the instant dead at De l'Isle's feet,—who was so badly wounded, that his recovery was despaired of for six weeks, by the surgeon to whose house he had been privately conveyed, and where he was kept concealed from the inquiries of justice. De la Fosse was, by the immediate care of the military savages who had exacted this tragedy, thrown into a hole, dug for that purpose, round which they stood with their swords drawn, till the flesh was all consumed by quick lime, or so far disfigured that the sentence of the law could not be executed on it, viz. that the body of a person slain in a duel was to be dragged through the streets on a sledge, and refused Christian burial; thus affecting a solicitude for preserving from disgrace after death, the unhappy victim of their adherence to an imaginary point of honour, equally abhorrent to humanity, and contrary to the laws of common sense and reason.

In about three months after this unhappy catastrophe, De l'Isle escaped from Montpellier in the

night-time, privately, and fled in disguise to Spain, where he lived several years in wretchedness and obscurity, lamenting the loss of a beloved friend, tender parents, and his native country.

To such a pass did this custom at length arrive, that whenever such antipathies were made known to the court of Versailles, it was the business of the war-minister to take care that the hostile regiments should never meet on the road, in marches from one city or province to another, or be quartered in the same place, in order to prevent disputes, quarrels, and massacres, which would most probably ensue. And when it happened that a regiment at enmity with another was ordered to succeed to its quarters, the latter evacuated the garrison two or three days before, to prevent all possibility of the officers meeting.

An instance of a singular challenge occurred in the case of General Wood, a distinguished but eccentric officer who served under Marlborough.

A Frenchman at Ghent, being detected in coining false money, was tried and condemned. When he was put to the rack, he confessed that a Major de Fuiney, of Lord Galway's regiment, was an accomplice; but before his execution he, strenuously, denied it: nevertheless, the Major would have surely met the same fate, if the generosity of the English governor had not protected him, till the

army went into the field, which was in 1697, when the Major was ordered to be tried by a court-martial, of which Colonel Wood was the president. By this court the Major was cashiered, and declared incapable of ever again serving, at which his friends were so enraged, that they talked freely, and even scandalously, concerning the decision of the court. On Colonel Wood's hearing of this, it so much offended him, that he posted the following general challenge on a church door at Brussels :—

“ Whereas the proceedings of the Court martial which cashiered Major Abraham de Fuiney, and whereof I was president, have been scandalously misrepresented to the world by some of his nation, I do hereby declare, that if any Frenchman, of what rank in the army, or quality whatsoever, have said, or do say, that the Court-martial which cashiered the said De Fuiney, has done him any injustice, they are rascals, cowards, and villains, and do scandalously lie: and that they all may know who it is that has publicly set up this declaration, to vindicate the honour of his nation, of the Court-martial, and of himself, and to throw the villainous scandal upon themselves, which most unworthily they would have put upon an English Court-martial, I have hereunto set my name.

“ CORNELIUS WOOD.”

The Frenchmen in our service* were much annoyed at this general challenge : all of them thought themselves concerned therein, but more particularly a relation of the Major's, who sent the Colonel a letter, somewhat of the nature of a challenge. He gave it to his Aide-de-camp, charging him to say nothing of the contents to any person whatever ; and then riding to Brussels, met his antagonist in the park,—They took their ground and drew their swords, when Wood began to push so vigorously at him, that the Frenchman chose rather to trust to his heels than his sword, and the Colonel, being in very heavy boots, could not overtake him before he got out of the gate. Having thus put his life at stake, in vindication of his honour, Wood had run as great a hazard by fighting in the park belonging to the court of Brussels, it being death by the law of the country ; but the ladies interposing for the life of so gallant a man, procured his pardon from the Elector of Bavaria ; on receiving which, he said, “ that he was ignorant of the laws of the

* After Louis XIV. revoked the edict of Nantes, by which much toleration had been granted to the reformed religion in France, a vast number of French Protestants of all ranks and classes came over to England to avoid the tyrannical persecutions which were carried on against their brethren ; and several excellent officers and well-disciplined soldiers were incorporated from among these refugees into the British arm

country ; yet, if it had been at the altar, he would have answered a challenge where the honour of the English nation was concerned."

Montesquieu entertained a fanciful theory that from the institutions and ordinances relating to *civil and judicial* duels, he could lineally deduce the origin of the modern point of honour in those offensive acts which are looked upon to be the most irritative and stinging causes for a manly resentment, or of incurring the charge of cowardice by suffering them to pass with impunity ; and he explains himself on this subject by the following suppositions.

" If an accuser began by declaring before a judge that such a person had committed such an action, and that the impleaded had given him the lie, the judge gave his order for the duel.—Hence arose the custom, that whenever a man received the lie, he was obliged to challenge the offender to combat with him, for having dared to offer him that gross affront.

" When a person had declared himself both willing and ready to combat, he could not evade it afterwards, if he even attempted it ; and he incurred the penalty annexed to such a recreancy.—Hence the custom was established, that when a man had once given his hand, the law of honour forbade his receding from it.

“Gentlemen encountered each other on horse-back, and with arms : plebeians fought on foot, and with a stick or quarter-staff.—Hence a stick is considered a disgraceful weapon ; because, whoever has been beaten with it, was looked upon to have been treated as a plebeian.

“Plebeians alone fought with their faces uncovered : and were therefore alone liable to receive blows on the face, and to have it disfigured.—Hence it has followed, that a blow, given on that part, can only be washed away with the blood of the offender ; but he who had received it was treated like a plebeian.”

These inferences appear so theoretical, that one only wonders how so wise and sensible an author as Montesquieu could have adopted them.

Duelling was first introduced into England as early as the Norman conquest, but it was not until the reign of James I., that the frequency of duels became an object of attention to government. There was, in particular, a prosecution instituted against two persons ; against the one for sending a challenge, and the other for carrying it, in which prosecution the Lord Chancellor Bacon, then Attorney-General, made a long speech on the subject of duels in general. One remedy proposed by him was banishment from court. What good effect this might have produced, was probably never tried, but a remarkable instance occurs of its

being neglected : that of Sir Edward Sackville, who afterwards succeeded to the earldom of Dorset. He had killed Lord Bruce (a Scotch nobleman, Baron of Kinloss), in a duel, attended with the strongest proofs of premeditation ; yet he was not only permitted to appear at court, but was successively promoted, in that reign and the following, to several honours, and public offices of importance.

The insertion here of the following minute account of this transaction, may be excused, as affording a curious specimen of an English duel on a point of honour two centuries ago, and the quaint language of the correspondence connected with it.

1

LORD BRUCE TO SIR EDWARD SACKVILLE.

“ I that am in France, hear how much you attribute to yourself this time, that I have given the world leave to ring your praises. If you call to memory where I gave you my hand last, I told you I reserved the heart for a truer reconciliation. Now be that noble gentleman my love once spoke you, and come and do him right that could recite the trials you owe your birth and country, were I not confident your honour gives you the same courage to do me right, that it did to do me wrong.

“ Be master of your weapon and true : the place wheresoever, I will wait upon you. By doing this

you shall shorten revenge, and clear the idle opinion the world hath of both our works.

“ EDWARD BRUCE.”

2.

SIR EDWARD SACKVILLE TO THE BARON OF
KINLOSS.

“ As it shall always be far from me to seek a quarrel, so will I always be ready to meet with any that desire to make trial of my valour by so fair a course as you require : a witness whereof yourself shall be, who within a month shall receive a strict account of time, place, and weapon, where you shall find me ready disposed to give you honourable satisfaction, by him that shall conduct you thither. In the meantime, be as secret of the appointment as it seems you are desirous of it.

“ EDWD. SACKVILLE.”

3.

SIR EDWARD SACKVILLE TO THE BARON OF
KINLOSS.

“ I am ready at Tergoso, a town in Zealand, to give you the satisfaction your sword can render you, accompanied with a worthy gentleman, my second, in degree a knight ; and for your coming I will not limit you a peremptory day ; but desire you to make a definite and speedy repair for your own honour,

and fear of prevention, until which time you shall find me there.

“ EDWD. SACKVILLE.”

Tergoso, Aug. 10.

4.

LORD BRUCE TO SIR EDWARD SACKVILLE.

“ I have received your letter by your man, and acknowledge you have dealt nobly with me ; and now I come with all possible haste to meet you.

“ EDW. BRUCE.”

We are indebted for a relation of the circumstances which happened at the duel to the following letter, written by Sir Edward Sackville to one of his friends in England.

“ WORTHY SIR,

“ As I am not ignorant, so ought I to be sensible, of the false aspersions some authorless tongues have laid upon me, in respect of the unfortunate passage lately happened between the Lord Bruce and myself ; which, as they are spread here, so I may justly fear they reign also where you are. There are but two ways to resolve doubts of this nature ; by oath, or by sword. The first is due to magistrates, and communicable to friends ; the other to such as maliciously slander, and impudently defend their assertion.

“ Your love, not my merit, assures me you hold me your friend, which esteem I am much desirous to retain. Do me, therefore, the right to understand the truth of that ; and in my behalf inform others, who either are, or may be, infected with sinister rumours, much prejudicial to that fair opinion I desire to hold amongst all worthy persons : and on the faith of a gentleman, the relation I shall give is neither more nor less than the bare truth.

“ The enclosed (*alluding to the above four notes*) contains the first citation sent me from Paris, by a Scotch gentleman, who delivered it to me in Derbyshire, at my father-in-law’s house. After it follows my then answer, returned to him by the same bearer. The next is my accomplishment of my first promise, being a particular assignation of place and weapon, which I sent by a servant of mine, by post from Rotterdam, as soon as he landed there.

“ The receipt of which, joined to an acknowledgment of my too fair carriage to the deceased lord, testified by the last, periods the business, until we met at Tergoso in Zealand, it being the place allotted for rendezvous ; where he, accompanied with one Mr. Crawford (an English gentleman) for his second, a surgeon, and a man, arrived with all the speed he could.

“ And there having rendered himself, I addressed my second, Sir John Heiden, to let him understand

that all following should be done by consent ; as concerning the terms whereon we should fight, as also the place. To our seconds we gave power for their appointment ; who agreed we should go to Antwerp, from thence to Bergen-up-Zoom, where in the mid-way a village divides the States' territories from the Arch-duke's.

“ And there was the destined stage ; to the end that having finished the affair, he that could, might presently exempt himself from the justice of the country, by retiring into the dominion whose laws were not offended. It was likewise concluded, that in case any should fall or slip, then the combat should cease : and he whose ill-fortune had so subjected him, was to acknowledge his life to have been in the other's hands.

“ But in case one party's sword should break, because that could only chance by hazard, it was agreed that the other should take no advantage ; but either then be made friends, or also, upon even terms, go to it again. Thus these conclusions being each of them related to his party, were by us both approved and assented to.

“ Accordingly we embarked for Antwerp : and by reason my Lord (as I conceive, because he could not handsomely without danger or discovery) had not paired the sword I sent him to Paris, bringing one of the same length, but twice as broad, my

second excepted against it, and advised me to match my own, and send him the choice ; which I obeyed, it being (you know) the challenger's privilege to elect his weapon.

“ At the delivery of the sword, which was performed by Sir John Heiden, it pleased the Lord Bruce to choose my own : and then, past expectation, he told Sir John that he found himself so far behind-hand, as a little of my blood would not serve his turn ; and therefore he was now resolved to have me alone, because he knew (for I will use his own words) that so worthy a gentleman and my friend could not stand by, and see him do that which he must, to satisfy himself and his honour.

“ Hereupon Sir John Heiden replied, that such intentions were bloody and butcherly, and unfitting so noble a personage, who should desire to bleed for reputation, not for life ; withal adding, he thought himself injured, being come too far, to be now prohibited from executing those honourable offices he came for. The Lord for answer only reiterated his former resolution ; whereupon Sir John, leaving him the sword he had elected, delivered me the other, with his determination.

“ The which, not for matter, but manner, so moved me, as though, to my remembrance, I had not for a long time eaten more liberally than at dinner, and therefore unfit for such an action, (see-

ing the surgeons hold a wound upon a full stomach much more dangerous than otherwise,) I requested my second to certify to him, I would presently decide the difference; and therefore he should presently meet me on horseback, only waited on by our surgeons, they being unarmed.

“Together we rode, but one before the other, about two English miles: and then passion having so weak an enemy to assail as my discretion, easily became victor; and using his power, made me obedient to his commands: I being verily mad with anger, that Lord Bruce should thirst after my life with a kind of assuredness: seeing I came so far, and needlessly, to give him leave to regain his lost reputation.

“I bade him alight, which with all willingness he quickly granted; and there in a meadow, ankle-deep in water at the least, bidding farewell to our donblots, in our shirts we began to charge each other: having before commanded our surgeons to withdraw themselves at a pretty distance from us; conjuring them besides, as they respected our favours, or their own safeties, not to stir, but suffer us to execute our pleasure, we being fully resolved (God forgive us!) to dispatch each other by what means we could.

“I made a thrust at my enemy, but was short; and in drawing back my arm, I received a great wound therein, which I interpreted as a reward for

my short shooting : but in revenge I prest in to him, though then missed him also, and then received a wound in my right pap, which passed both through my body and almost to my back. And there we wrestled for the two greatest and dearest prizes we could ever expect trial for, honour and life. In which struggling, my hand having but an ordinary glove on it, lost one of her servants, though the meanest, [*the little finger,*] which having hung by a skin, to sight yet remaineth as before, and I am in hope one day to recover the use of it again.

“ At last, breathless, yet keeping our holds, there passed on both sides propositions of quitting each other's swords. But when amity was dead, confidence could not live ; and who should quit first was the question, which on neither part either would perform : and wrestling again afresh, with a kick and a wrench together, I freed my long-captivated weapon which instantly levelling at his throat, being master still of his, I demanded if he would ask his life, or yield his sword : both which, though in that imminent danger, he bravely denied to do.

“ Myself being wounded, and feeling loss of blood, (having three conduits running on me, which began to make me faint,) and he courageously persisting not to accord to either of my propositions ; through remembrance of his former bloody desire,

and feeling of my present estate, I struck at his heart, but with his avoiding missed my aim, yet passed through the body; and drawing out my sword, repassed it again through another place, when he cried, ‘Oh! I am slain!’ seconding his speech with all the force he had to cast me. But he being too weak, after I had defended his assault, I easily became master of him, laying him upon his back; when being upon him, I re-demanded if he would request his life: but it seemed he prized it not at so dear a rate, to be beholden for it, bravely replying—‘he scorned it;’ which answer of his was so noble and worthy, as I protest I could not find in my heart to offer him any more violence, only keeping him down, until at length his surgeon afar off cried out—‘he would immediately die, if his wounds were not stopped:’ whereupon I asked if he desired his surgeon should come, which he accepted of; and so being drawn away, I never offered to take his sword, counting it inhuman to rob a dead man; for so I held him to be.

“The matter being thus ended, I retired to my surgeon; in whose arms after I had remained a while, for want of blood, I lost my sight; and withal, as I then thought, lost my life also. But strong water, and his diligence, quickly recovered me; when I escaped from a very great danger:—

“Lord Bruce’s surgeon, when nobody dreamt of

it, came full at me with his lordship's sword ; and had not mine with my sword interposed, I had been slain by those base hands ; although my Lord Bruce, weltering in his blood, and past all expectation of life, conformable to all his former carriage (which was undoubtedly noble) cried out, ' Rascal, hold thy hand !'

" So may I prosper, as I have dealt sincerely with you in the relation, which I pray you with this Letter to deliver to my Lord Chamberlain,

" Louvain, Sept. 8, 1613."

The science of quarrelling was studied with great accuracy in the sixteenth century. Lord Chancellor Bacon, in his speech above-mentioned, takes notice of some French and Italian pamphlets upon the doctrine of duels ; which, he gives us to understand, contained such regulations as it was necessary for those to observe, who professed the code of honour then fashionable. It is said, that cases of honour were collected with great minuteness : that *lies* were distinguished into thirty-two different sorts ; and that the precise satisfaction suited to each, was marked out.*

* Shakespeare has admirably ridiculed this custom in his comedy of " As You Like it," by a ludicrous narrative and explanation which he puts into the mouth of his clown, Touchstone, (see Act 5, Scene 4. of that charming play). It is too long to

Compared with this, the present code of honour happily shows but a moderate degree of refinement; yet we cannot too strongly guard against its dangerous tendency.

Every attempt to place the principles (good or bad) of human actions in a just light, must be favoured by all who wish well to mankind. To remove a false glare from a dazzling vice is a work, which, if it could be accomplished, would not fail of appearing meritorious to the thinking part of the world. With these views, and in order to prevent quarrels and sending challenges in the army, it was long since ordered by the Articles of War, that—

“ No officer shall use any reproachful or provoking speeches or gestures to another; upon pain of being put in arrest, and of asking pardon of the party offended, in the presence of his commanding officer.

“ No officer shall presume to give or send a challenge to any other officer to fight a duel, upon pain of being cashiered.

“ If any officer commanding a guard, shall knowingly and wilfully suffer any person whatsoever to go

be here transcribed; but is well worth referring to. And to this the commentators on the passage have added some curious information on the subject.

forth to fight a duel, he shall be punished as a challenger : and likewise all seconds, promoters, and carriers of challenges in order to duels, shall be deemed as principals, and be punished accordingly.

“ All officers, of what condition whatsoever, have power to quell all quarrels, frays, and disorders, though the persons concerned should belong to another regiment ; and to order officers into arrest, until their proper superior officers shall be acquainted therewith ; and whosoever shall refuse to obey such officer, (though of an inferior rank,) or shall draw his sword upon him, shall be punished at the discretion of a General Court-martial.

“ If any officer shall upbraid another for refusing a challenge, he shall himself be punished as a challenger : and his Majesty acquits and discharges all officers of any disgrace, or opinion of disadvantage, which might arise from their having refused to accept of challenges ; as they will only have acted in obedience to his orders, and done their duty as good soldiers who subject themselves to discipline.”

But unhappily these regulations were rendered completely unavailing by long established custom, and merely caused a kind of mock concealment, to avoid the interference of the civil power. The only check which was really useful was the strict enforce-

ment of the law, rendering the *Seconds* in a duel as responsible for the death of one of the parties as the surviving combatant himself.

English juries invariably give the strongest support to this salutary rule, and it was never violated with impunity. In the year 1807, a duel occurred without seconds between two officers of the 21st (or Scots Fusileers,) the consequences of which were indeed terrible and created intense interest at the time, not so much perhaps for the unfortunate man who paid the penalty of the law for his rash and violent conduct, as for his wretched wife, who, after enduring all the terror and anxiety of his concealment under a false name for many months, had the misery to see him (exhausted with the agony of suspense) surrender himself to justice, and after unheard-of exertions to obtain his pardon when condemned, only arrived at Glasgow to find him a corpse delivered to his friends from the gibbet for interment in his native place.

The following is a brief narrative of the case, which occurred at Newry, in Ireland :—

The 21st regiment (Scots Fusileers) had been inspected in the morning by General Ker, who afterwards dined with the officers. About eight o'clock, the mess broke up, excepting Major Campbell, (who was a cousin of Lord Breadalbane,) Captain Boyd, and a

Lieutenant Hall, and the Assistant-Surgeon Adams. The conversation turned upon the field-day of the morning, and Campbell observed that the General had corrected him erroneously, as to a certain word of command, mentioning how he had given the word, and how the General had corrected him. Boyd remarked that neither was correct according to the King's order, (meaning the Regulations). Campbell replied it might not be according to the King's order, but it was nevertheless correct. Boyd still insisted it was wrong, and the altercation continuing, Boyd said he knew it *as well as any man*. Campbell rejoined that he doubted that, and Boyd then said he knew it *better than him*, and he might take that as he liked. Campbell got up immediately, and asked him, "Captain Boyd, do you say I am wrong?" "I do," replied Boyd; "I know I am right according to the King's order." Major Campbell then quitted the mess-room, but Captain Boyd remained for some time longer, and then left Hall and Adams together.

It appeared on the trial, that Campbell and Boyd soon after met on the stairs, and went together into the mess-waiter's room, remained there about ten minutes, and again separated. About twenty minutes after this, Campbell came to the mess-waiter, and sent him to find Captain Boyd, and to tell him a

gentleman wished to speak with him if he pleased. The man went and delivered this message to Captain Boyd, who was in the yard, and he returned with him, and went into a little room off the mess-room where Major Campbell was waiting. The mess-waiter then went into the kitchen, leaving them together. In eight or ten minutes he heard a shot, but thought nothing of it till he heard another. He then went to the mess-room, but meantime two of the officers had already run there, and found Boyd wounded in the stomach, having evidently exchanged shots in the little room, at about nine paces distance, with Major Campbell, who showed the places where they had stood to fire, and asked Boyd in their presence, "On the word of a dying man, was not everything fair?" Boyd answered, "Campbell, you hurried me—you are a bad man." And when Campbell again asked him, "Was not all fair?" answered, "Oh, no! you know I wanted you to wait and have seconds."

Campbell then said, "Good heavens! will you not mention before these gentlemen, was not everything fair? Did you not say you were ready?" Boyd said, "Yes;" but he added a moment after, "you are a bad man." Boyd was now helped into another room, Major Campbell following in great agitation, and asking if he forgave him? Boyd stretched out

his hand, and said, " Yes, and I feel for you, and I am sure you do for me." Boyd died next day, and Campbell being tried for murder, was found guilty, but recommended to mercy on the score of character, many officers of rank having spoken of him in evidence as a peaceful and honourable man.

After the death of Boyd, Campbell escaped from Ireland, and lived at Chelsea under a false name with his family for several months ; but his anxiety of mind was so grievous, that he resolved to surrender himself for trial come what might, relying, perhaps, in some degree in the conviction he always entertained, and under which he died, that he had not taken any unfair advantage in the duel, though he had, in his passion, and under much provocation from Boyd, refused to wait till seconds should be procured in the usual manner.

His unhappy wife made every endeavour to obtain his pardon by personal solicitation, throwing herself on her knees in presenting her memorial to the Queen and Princesses, who took the greatest interest in her sorrow. The Queen instantly took the memorial to His Majesty, who, though deeply affected, could not interfere against the course of justice in a case so flagrant, and which would have led to such dangerous precedents, and Major Campbell was accordingly executed in Ire-

land, showing the sincerest penitence and resignation. Mrs. Campbell arrived by the mail at Glasgow to cross for Ireland, but dreadful to say, met her husband's corpse, which had been sent there, instantly after the execution, for interment in the family vault at Ayr.

That increased respect for religion which has of late years gained ground in our army, and which has been so properly fostered and encouraged by those in authority, has done more for prevention of duelling than could have been effected by the severest laws and regulations. How entirely this improved state of things is in accordance with the brightest military glory may be instanced by referring to the example of the great and good Gustavus Adolphus. In an age when the fiercest and most evil passions of mankind were encouraged rather than checked by fanatical fury and violence, (for no war was ever clad in greater horror than that famous religious contest known generally as the thirty years' war, from 1618 to 1648,) this renowned Prince made it his first study to promote and maintain a true piety in the Swedish army. Harte tells us that the great Gustavus Adolphus never engaged in any battle, without first praying at the head of the troops he was about to lead toward the enemy ; sometimes using a book,

and sometimes extempore. This being done, he used to thunder out, in a strong and energetic manner, some German hymn or psalm, in which he was followed by his whole army: (the effect of this chant, with thirty or forty thousand voices, had a wonderful effect). — Immediately before the battle of Lutzen, which proved fatal to himself, but so honourable to his army, he vociferated the translation of the forty-sixth Psalm, made by Luther, when he was a prisoner in the fortress of Cobourg, which begins “God is our strength.” The trumpets and drums immediately struck up, and were accompanied by the whole army. To this succeeded a hymn composed by Gustavus himself. The word given by the King for that day was “God be with us.”

At the battle of Senef, in 1674, the Prince of Condé, sent orders to M. de Navailles to prepare for engaging the enemy. The messenger found him hearing mass; at which the Prince, being enraged, muttered something in abuse of over-pious persons. But Navailles, having performed wonders during the engagement, said, after it, to the Prince: “Your highness, I fancy, sees now, that those who pray to God, can behave as well in a battle, as their neighbours.”

The celebrated General Zieten entertained the

most pious veneration for religion. Hence that extreme indifference, that entire self-denial, whenever his own interests came in competition with those of another ; hence, from his earliest youth, when he first began to push his fortune in the world, that uprightness of character which never allowed him to have recourse to any indirect or disingenuous expedients ; and hence, when arrived to the summit of his glory, that noble serenity of mind, unembittered by reproach, which crowned the evening of his days, and repaid the toils of an useful and well-spent life.

His piety was entirely free from all display of devotion or superstitious servility. His sentiments of religion were pure and simple. He considered it the first of daily duties to pay his homage to the Supreme Being. At no time was he ever neglectful of the duty of prayer ; nor did a day pass without his having acquitted himself of it in the silence of his closet, excluded from the observation of the world.

But after all, it seems scarcely necessary to cite examples of men of great renown being remarkable for a true sense of religion. Gentleness, humility, deference, affability, and a readiness to assist and serve on all occasions, are as necessary in the composition of a true Christian, as in that of a well-

bred man. Passion, moroseness, peevishness, and supercilious self-sufficiency, are equally repugnant to either of these characters ; who differ in this only—that the true Christian really is, what the well-bred man pretends to be.

The well-known remarks of Addison on the avoidance of quarrels in society without any loss of self-respect, may well be cited in conclusion of this subject :—

“ Avoid disputes as much as possible. In order to appear easy and well-bred in conversation, you may assure yourself that it requires more wit, as well as more good-humour, to improve, than to contradict, the notions of another. But if you are at any time obliged to enter on an argument, give your reasons with coolness and modesty ; two things which scarce ever fail of making an impression on the hearers.

“ In order to keep that temper which is so difficult and yet so necessary to preserve, you may please to consider that nothing can be more unjust and ridiculous, than to be angry with another, because he is not of your opinion. The interests, education, and means, by which men attain their knowledge, are so very different, that it is impossible they should all think alike, and he has at least as much reason to be angry with you, as you with him. But

if you contend for the honour of victory, you may lay down this as an infallible maxim ; that you cannot make a more false step, or give your antagonist greater advantage over you, than by falling into a passion."

ESSAY XV.

ON MILITARY SCIENCE.

It is only during actual service that an officer has opportunities for the full display of his capacity ; but in a time of peace let him employ his leisure hours to gain every possible insight into the duties of his profession, and let him by no means suppose that so extensive a science, and one which embraces so many objects, lies confined within the sphere of mechanical exercises and evolutions. These matters, though an indispensable part of an officer's knowledge, present only an elementary and subordinate view of his art. He soon perceives how insufficient they are, unless diligently followed up by further studies, to give him a due notion of the great principles of movement, and of their varied application to the different operations of war.

It is surely an error to suppose that the military

art may be acquired by habit and experience, without any study or application. Principle and method are as essential in this as in other pursuits. Objects in war present themselves under so many, and such various aspects, from the nature of places and of circumstances, that without some application and diligence, it is impossible to derive full advantage even from the most consummate experience, unless assisted by that amount of theory, which is requisite to present to our view the connexion of causes with effects.

When an officer, during a time of peace, has employed himself in acquiring good military principles, he will soon perceive their natural use for the purposes of war, he will be enabled, by means of these, to trace effects to their sources; and he will frequently have it in his power to apply his rules to circumstances as they arise, however new they may be to him. He will perceive how unavailing bravery, courage, greatness of mind, and natural perspicuity, may one day prove to an officer, who has not previously devoted himself to the study of his profession. He will find that however brave and intrepid such a man is, he will be often at a loss; and that it is sometimes as disadvantageous to be destitute of theory, as of experience.

But how is this theory to be acquired? And whence is our instruction to be drawn, if there are no positive rules nor fixed system to be found?

Many celebrated officers who have felt the necessity of an established theory, have written on the science of war. It is by reading their compositions with attention, that we are able to trace their principles; and to find precepts which may be of great utility in the day of trial. It must be acknowledged that these precepts frequently appear in their works without perspicuity, order, or connexion, and are scattered in a thousand different places, and that these writers are not agreed in many important points; nevertheless by collecting them together, examining them, combining them, and giving to each its proper consideration, something of a general system may be traced out for ordinary guidance.

“We may have been endowed by nature with military talents,” says a writer on the art of war; “but if these are not cultivated by attention and study, we cannot expect them to be improved and matured. Nevertheless, to see the little application of some young officers, any one would suppose that the knowledge of their art is to be gained in a day; that the address, skill, and foresight, which are required to assist them in the most imminent dangers, are born with them; and that they are among the small number of those extraordinary geniuses who appear sometimes in the world at distant intervals, as if for the purpose of saving or overturning empires.”

This is by no means a new observation, for Thucydides, in speaking of the extraordinary natural genius for the art of war exhibited in early youth by Themistocles, and the rarity of such inborn talent; makes this remark upon the habits of the young Athenian officers of the day, "that it is no very singular thing in war to perceive young men even boasting of their ignorance, and avowing themselves enemies to reflection and study."

Arithmetic, mathematics, and geography, have been said to form the basis of the science of war.

It is certainly by the assistance of geometry that engineers conduct their works, take the situation and plans of towns, the distances of places, and even of such objects as are accessible only to the sight. This science is not only an introduction to fortification, but highly necessary to mechanical operations. On geometry likewise depends the theory of gunnery and mining. It is entirely by the application of geometrical principles to the movements of troops, that both infantry and cavalry are enabled to execute with certainty and order, those various formations, and combined evolutions, which constitute their efficiency in the field, and enable those who command them to depend upon their occupation of positions in a given time, their power of varying their formation according to circumstances, and of removing from one position to another without risk

of disorder and confusion. The study of this science generally, is also the most ready means of acquiring that spirit of precision so useful to every military man. Without some knowledge of geometry, the ideas are frequently vague : and the mind less capable of just comparisons and accurate calculation.

An officer ought to have some knowledge of the art of drawing, if he is desirous of qualifying himself for the variety of different contingencies which daily present themselves in the operations of a campaign ; for military drawing is in fact the art of representing on paper the different details of topography, the positions of ground and of posts, the course and direction of rivers and roads, and the plans of fortresses and outline of intrenchments.

Some authors have asserted that we have nothing in the military art in common with the Romans, and that the invention of gunpowder has entirely changed the nature of war. This is not entirely true : —our muskets (if we except the bayonet) are merely weapons which strike at a distance, nearly in the same manner as the bow, the cross-bow, and the sling, only with much longer range ; and the principal advantages of the cannon over the *balista* and *cata-pulta* are, in its being a far more compact machine, and taking a more effective part in action from its great range and facility of movement ; besides, that its

rapidity and force of discharge very much shortens the duration of sieges ; in other respects it has only an indirect influence on the art of war. The balista was for the purpose of throwing great stones, and the catapulta for casting the heavier sort of darts and spears, and some of these engines were so large, and of such force, that they would throw stones of an hundred weight. Josephus takes notice of the surprising effects of these engines, and says, that the stones thrown by them beat down battlements, and knocked off the angles of towers, and it was said of Archidamas, that when he first saw the machine called the catapulta, then recently brought from Sicily, he exclaimed, " This is the grave of valour."

It would seem that the gallant knights who first witnessed the introduction of fire-arms in battle, were pretty much of the same opinion : for it is mentioned that the noble Bayard ordered to be put to death, without mercy, all musketeers who fell into his hands, considering them to be the bane of true personal courage, and an unfair innovation on the custom of war in his chivalrous days. But this was a cruel and unreasonable distinction for courage, as a moral virtue, (and it is when considered as such that it deserves to be most highly valued,) consists in being able to face danger, and death itself, without terror or dismay, on necessary

occasions. Surely, therefore, fire-arms, by reducing all men to the same level, by destroying the distinctions arising from different degrees of bodily strength, have by no means rendered personal valour of less avail, but have rather placed it in the brightest point of view.

The invention of gunpowder has wrought the greatest change, in having obliged those who command armies to place a greater dependence on the discipline and training, than on the bodily energy of the soldier ; for whatever may be said of the Generals of ancient times, it was as often the personal valour of the men, as the ability of the officers, which decided the issue of a battle. Cæsar, considered with regard to his military achievements, is scarcely less worthy of admiration for the art evinced in his choice of positions and of movements, than for the personal intrepidity and contempt of danger and fatigue with which he was able to inspire his soldiers.

The battles of former times were much more sanguinary than modern ones ; because the close, impervious order of the troops necessarily engaged a greater number of combatants at once, and the hand to hand contest of the ancient soldiers rendered the decision long and doubtful. At present, the fire of artillery and musketry does not kill so many as the weapons used by the ancients. Actual close combat rarely takes place, and is short in its dura-

tion ; the most sanguinary kind (though only to one of the two parties) is when the cavalry pursues, sword in hand, a routed infantry.

Among the ancients, when once two armies had come to close quarters, it was almost impossible for either to effect a retreat with any degree of order. In opposition to this assertion, we cannot justly cite the retreat of the Ten Thousand, and a few others, which were owing entirely to the influence of particular circumstances, and cannot be regarded as exceptions. The Greeks had not sufficient cavalry to protect their infantry when it was compelled to fly ; besides, their cavalry could effect but little against the weapons and defensive armour used by the infantry, as long as they maintained their order, but when they did break and take to flight, the slaughter was dreadful, for it was impossible to think of gaining a position, or of forming a new front ; because they had no batteries, beneath the shelter of which they could be rallied, even if the successful enemy would have allowed time for such an operation to take place..

Cannon were originally made of iron bars, soldered together, and fortified with strong iron hoops ; some of which are still to be seen, viz. one in the Tower of London, and two at Woolwich. Others were made of thin sheets of iron rolled up together, and

hooped; and they were made even of leather, with plates of iron or copper, in such a rude and imperfect manner, that although stone balls were thrown out of these cannon, only a small quantity of powder could be used, on account of their weakness. These pieces had no ornaments, were placed on their carriages by rings, and were of a cylindrical form. When or by whom they were made is uncertain: however, we read of cannon being used as early as the thirteenth century, in a sea engagement between the King of Tunis and the Moorish King of Seville. The Venetians are said to have used cannon at the siege of Claudia Jessa, (now called Chioggia,) in 1366; which were brought thither by two Germans, with some powder and leaden balls: as likewise in their wars with the Genoese in 1379. Our King Edward the Third made use of cannon at the battle of Cressy, in 1346, and at the siege of Calais in 1347. Cannon were used by the Turks at the siege of Constantinople, then in possession of the Christians, in 1394. One cannon is mentioned that threw a weight of 500lbs.; but they generally burst at either the second or third shot. Louis the Twelfth is said to have had one cast at Tours, which threw a ball from the Bastille to Charenton, the distance of a league. One of these famous cannon was taken at the siege of Dieu,

in 1546, by Don John de Castro, and is now in the castle of St. Juliao da Barra, near Lisbon; its length is 20 feet 7 inches, diameter at the centre 6 feet 3 inches, and it would discharge a ball of 100lbs. It has no trunnions, and is of a curious kind of metal, with a long Hindoo inscription upon it, which says it was cast in 1400.

“The artillery first framed,” says a celebrated historian, “was so clumsy, and of such difficult management, that men were not immediately sensible of its use and efficacy; and even now improvements are continually making in this formidable engine, which, though it seemed contrived for the destruction of mankind and the overthrow of empires, has, in the issue, rendered battles less bloody and destructive. Nations, by its means, have been brought more to a level; conquests have become less frequent and rapid; success in war has been reduced more to a matter of calculation; and any nation overmatched by its enemies, either yields to their demands, or secures itself by alliances against their violence and invasion.”

It was probably in Germany that gunpowder and artillery were first fabricated; but it seems to have been in France, if we are to believe Villani, that this new and formidable invention was originally applied in the field of battle. According to him, our Ed-

ward the Third enjoys the honour of making the grand experiment at the battle of Crecy, within six years of the original discovery ; and here the few unshapely pieces of ordnance (destitute, in all probability, of both trunnions and wheels, and dangerous from their uncouth construction) which this enterprising prince placed in the front of his army, had a prodigious effect.

Though the dreadful effects of gunpowder were now manifested beyond a doubt, and had been applied successfully in the field of battle, yet it was some time before, artillery was regularly used against fortifications, and the newly-discovered force applied to the battering and destroying the walls of towns and castles. Against these, however, they soon acquired a decided superiority : for the art of gunnery was improved faster than the science of fortification ; and it is a well-established fact, that the mode of defence had become very much inferior to that of offence, till Vauhan and Coehorn in some degree restored a new balance by their extraordinary skill and genius in the art of fortification.

The wars which took place towards the end of the seventeenth century produced in most parts of Europe, and especially in France and England, considerable attention to that branch of the military art which concerns the management of artillery. During

the victorious progress of the English army in the reign of Queen Anne, this subject greatly occupied the study of our military commanders; but still the artillery at that period by no means kept pace in improvement with the training, discipline, and equipment of the British cavalry and infantry. It was yet very defective in facility of movement in the field, being dragged by horses, taken where they could be got, with little if any training, and consequently the guns were quite unable to accompany the movements of cavalry, or indeed any rapid operation of infantry. But for defence of lines and entrenchments, where there was time to get artillery into good safe positions, a very large quantity of guns were often employed. At the siege of considerable fortresses prodigious battering trains were organized, and provided with abundance of ammunition. When Marlborough undertook the siege of Lille, in 1708, so enormous was the preparation, that it required 16,000 horses to draw the battering train and its stores from Brussels to that place. On the other hand, the park of field artillery with which the Duke of Marlborough penetrated into the interior of Germany in 1704, and fought the battle of Blenheim, would now scarcely be deemed adequate for an army of ten thousand men, and few as they were, the field guns were unwieldy, difficult of ma-

nagement and conveyance, and totally unfit for those rapid evolutions which distinguish modern warfare.

This is the less extraordinary when we reflect how vast an amount of science the knowledge of artillery embraces ; it includes not only the use of every variety of ordnance, but their force and power, their different modes of construction, their quality, and the means of applying them to the greatest advantage. The detail of these matters requires a complete course of study by itself, but there are some general points which every officer ought to be tolerably acquainted with ; for instance, the various elevations and ranges at which guns may be fired. Point blank range is the distance from the muzzle of the gun to the first point at which the shot strikes the ground ; supposing the ground to be perfectly level in front of the gun ; with field-pieces the average range of point-blank is from two to three hundred yards. If the gun is pointed at an object, by looking along the upper surface of it, (for which purpose there is a notch behind the vent and one on the top of the muzzle,) it is said to be laid by the line of metal, and it gives the gun an elevation of about one degree ; the breech being of larger diameter than the muzzle. Ricochet fire, (the invention of the celebrated Vauban, at the siege of Ath in 1669,) is

when the gun is pointed with a small elevation and diminished charge of powder, so that when the shot falls, it makes several rebounds ; it is usually directed along the rampart of a work, and is intended to drive the enemy from his guns, or dismount them by striking them laterally.

The ordnance in most common use should be loaded with about a third of the weight of the ball, to produce the greatest effect of which they are capable ; but the quantity of powder required in the species of discharge, termed *ricochet*, is of course much less, and is to be ascertained by experiments in the particular cases. With this view the trial for ricochet is made with different reductions of charge, and when the proportion for the desired range is found, this is continued for every subsequent shot.

In sieges, ricochet firing is used with a very small quantity of powder, and little elevation, so as just to fire over the parapet from the flank ; and then the shot will roll along the rampart, dismounting the cannon and dispersing or destroying the defenders. Ricochet practice is not applicable to cannon alone ; small mortars and howitzers may effectually be used for the same purpose, and are thus of singular use in action to enfilade the enemy's ranks ; for when the shells are rolling and bounding along with their fuses burning, and expected to burst every moment,

it requires some firmness to face the dangers of their explosion.

A gun mounted in a battery requires about two minutes for loading, running up, pointing, and firing; but about twenty rounds in an hour is the average of quick firing.

A field-gun may be fired by expert gunners eight times in a minute; but three times in the minute is the regulated maximum for steady firing, and under any circumstances the gun must never, of course, be allowed to get overheated by too rapid a fire. The smaller the angle is, under which a shot is made to ricochet, the longer it will preserve its force and have effect, for it will sink so much the less in the ground on which it bounds, and of which the tenacity will of course present so much less resistance to its progress. In ricochet firing at a fortification of any kind, the angle of elevation should seldom be less than five, or more than nine, degrees, to throw the shot over a parapet a little higher than the level of the battery. If the works are of an extraordinary height, the piece must be removed to such a situation, and have such charge, that it can still attain its object at this elevation, otherwise the shot will not ricochet, and the carriage will be much shaken.

In ricochet practice in the open field, the objects to be fired at being principally infantry and

cavalry, the guns should seldom be elevated above four or five degrees. With greater angles the ball would be apt to bound too high, and defeat the object intended.

Among the most destructive description of ordnance is the shell, a hollow ball filled with combustibles, which for a long time was used only in sieges, but has in later times been introduced into the field the same as other ordnance. The mortar from which the shell is fired, is a very short thick gun, more like a bell than cannon, which, being set with considerable elevation, rather tosses than drives the shell, causing it to make much the same curve in the air as a quoit thrown by the hand.

Thus when cannon cannot under a considerable length of time breach the wall or bastion, the shell being pitched over it into the body of the town, can, from the first, take a most serious effect, bursting through the roofs of houses and buildings, and by its explosion setting fire to any woodwork with which it comes in contact.

The contrivance by which its explosion is regulated is a *fuse* inserted in a hole in the shell, so as to communicate with the powder and combustibles within, which *fuse* being cut to a certain length, calculated in respect to the time it will be in the air, and ignited just before loading, causes it to burst

and scatter in every direction, as it lights upon the place at which it is aimed.

This has been the ordinary construction of the shell, but fresh improvements are constantly making, by which this powerful missile is becoming more dangerous to the enemy, as well as more safe and manageable for those who employ it.

It was at the siege of Wachtendonk, a small place in Guelderland, in 1588, that bombs or shells were first employed. The celebrated Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, being at this time Governor of the Netherlands, and having put his Italian and Spanish troops into winter quarters, despatched a body of artillery, under Count Peter Mansveldt, to lay siege to this Wachtendonk, which was strongly fortified, and situated in a marshy soil, being determined, if possible, to relieve the neighbouring country from the depredations and oppression of the garrison, which consisted of excellent hardy troops, who had been formed and disciplined under the famous Martin Schenk. These troops would probably have baffled even the skill and resolution of Mansveldt, by the obstinacy and perseverance of their defence, had it not been for the terror and destruction caused among the inhabitants, by the explosions of such new and terrible missiles. The citizens bore it for some time, but at length rose in a

body, and prevailed on the garrison to give up the place, but not till after the Germans had experienced a heavy loss, from frequent sallies, and the heavy fire kept up from the defences.

The original matchlocks or harquebusses were such huge unwieldy weapons, that so late as the beginning of the seventeenth century the soldiers who were trained to the use of them required a fork or rest, which they planted in the ground before them to support the muzzle while taking aim, and the discharge was effected by application of a slow match to the touch-hole. Gustavus Adolphus was one of the first improvers of the matchlock, which was eventually succeeded by the flint-musket, and this has again been superseded of late years by the admirable percussion principle.

But at all times the same laws of nature have regulated the passage of the bullet through the air, which is never perfectly horizontal, but from the instant it leaves the muzzle, begins to describe a curve. This curve first intersects the direct line at a small distance from the mouth of the piece, passes above it, and thence inclining to the earth by gravitation, repasses this line, and continues to describe a parabola till the moment of its touching the earth.

The effective range of the firelocks of modern in-

fantry, in a direction nearly horizontal, is about 360 yards. Hence in the construction of defensive posts, between 140 and 180 yards has been fixed on as a just distance of the line of defence, from the flank whence the fire proceeds, to the angle flanked, or protected by its effect. But though the effective range of the musket has been estimated at 360 yards, it is seldom that the fire of Infantry begins to have a powerful effect in the field beyond a distance of 180 yards.

The science of fortification is not much less ancient than the creation of mankind: for we read in the Bible that Cain built a city, with a wall round it, on mount Liban, and called it after the name of his son Enoch, the ruins of which, it is said, are to be seen at this day; and we also find that the Babylonians, soon after the Deluge, built cities and encompassed them with strong walls.

At first, people thought themselves secure with a single wall, behind which they made use of their darts and arrows with safety; but as new warlike instruments were continually invented to destroy these feeble structures, so on the other hand persons acting on the defensive were obliged to build stronger defences to resist the contrivances of the assailants.

The first walls for the defence of cities were of brick; and the ancient Grecians, long before the building of Rome, used brick and rubble-

stone, with which they constructed a vast wall, joining mount Hymettus to the city of Athens. The Babylonian walls, built by Senniramis, were thirty-two feet thick, and a hundred feet high, with towers of ten feet, built upon them; and were cemented with bitumen or asphaltus. Those of Jerusalem seem to have been of nearly equal dimensions; since, in the siege by Titus, all the Roman battering-rams, joined with Roman art and courage, could remove but four stones out of the tower of Antonia in a whole night's assault. The chief objects of these towers was to enable the defenders to flank, or protect with flights of arrows, the flat portion of the wall between them, in the same way that our modern bastions afford the means of pouring a flanking fire along the face of the walls, or, as they are now termed, curtains, which, extending from bastion to bastion, form the enclosure or enceinte of the place. We read in the Old Testament that the ordinary proceeding of a regular siege was to "cast a bank against the city," and there can be no doubt that, by enormous labour, this mode was effective, for eventually forcing an entrance over the wall.

After fortification had arrived at this point, it made little progress for many ages, till the use of gunpowder and guns was discovered: and then the round and square towers, which were very good defences against bows and arrows, became but indif-

ferent ones against the battering of cannon ; nor did the parapets any longer afford a shelter, when the force of one shot both overset the battlement, and destroyed those who sought security behind it.

Modern fortification turned the walls into broad ramparts of earth, faced and supported by brickwork, and the square and round towers into bastions or solid mounds, at each prominent angle of the walls of the town, defended by numerous outworks : all which were made so solid, that they could not be beaten down, but by the continual fire of batteries of cannon. These bastions at first were but small, their gorges or entrances narrow, and their flanks and faces short, as are those now to be seen in old Turkish fortresses ; but since that time they have been greatly improved and enlarged ; and the works are now arrived at such a degree of strength, that it is supposed the art of fortification is at a high degree of perfection, though improvements are constantly proposed : for instance, the new Prussian system of casemating or roofing over the guns, instead of their standing exposed on the rampart, is considered a great improvement where practicable, though the expense of this construction is very considerable.

During the attack on Naples by the Spaniards under Gonzalvo, surnamed the Great Captain, in the year 1503, an event took place, which occasioned very important changes in the art of

war. The French garrison, being but small, and having no confidence in the inhabitants, abandoned the town itself, retiring into the New Castle and the Castle Del Ovo. The first having been carried by assault, Gonzalvo summoned the other to surrender; and was answered by Chavagny, the French Commandant, that he and his men were determined to resist to the utmost, and to bury themselves in the ruins of the place. This in fact happened much sooner than was expected: for Peter Navarro, the Spanish officer who commanded the attack, having dug under a part of the wall without being observed, sprung a mine, and blew a number of the garrison into the air. The Spaniards immediately entered by the breach, and put every man within the castle to the sword.

It appears that it was at the taking of those castles that mines (such as they are now constructed) were first used. Not but what in all periods of antiquity it was common to mine (or rather to sap) the walls of besieged places. But then that operation consisted only in digging under a tower or wall, and substituting strong beams of timber, in proportion as the stones of the walls were removed, in order to support the tower. When this was finished, the beams and posts were daubed with pitch and other combustible matter; fire was then applied to them; and as they were consumed and

gave way, the walls and tower fell, and filling up the ditch, presented a practicable breach by which the besiegers might enter the place.

Montecuculi, the Imperial General, so celebrated for his victories over the Turks as well as his other successful campaigns, gives us in his Memoirs the following animated account of the energy and resource of the Turks in their attacks on cities and fortresses :

“ Comme il à beaucoup d'artillerie, et de grand calibre, le Turc rompt les murailles et les remparts avec des batteries, qui tirent sans relâche ; il saigne les fossés, et en détourne les eaux ; il les remplit avec des sacs pleins de sable, ou de laine, avec des fascines, des saussissons, et d'autres matieres ; il fait des galeries, il pousse devant lui des montagnes de terre capables de tenir plusieurs canons, et égales à la hauteur des murailles et des ramparts de la place assiégée, ou même plus hautes ; il creuse des mines simples, doubles et triples l'une sur l'autre, et qui sont très-profondes ; il les charge de 120 de 150 barils de poudre, et davantage ; ou bien il sappe à la façon des Romains, les murs par le fondement, les étaye avec du bois, puis y met le feu ; il fait ainsi tomber de grands pans de muraille tout d'un coup ; il fatigue les assiégés par des assauts continuels et opiniâtres.”

It does not appear, however, that until the siege of

Naples, gunpowder had ever been employed in mines, though it has been said that, about the year 1487, when the Genoese were besieging Seresanelle, a place belonging to the Florentines, one of their engineers made use of powder in mining under the castle; but the attempt not having been attended with success, the experiment was not repeated. Gonzalvo's engineer, Peter Navarro, was at that time in the Genoese service; and having reflected much on the subject, he brought the application of gunpowder for the purpose of mines to such perfection, as to produce the effects we have described at the castle Del Ovo, and thus put the Spaniards in possession of the capital of the kingdom.

A very curious instance of the effect of a mine is related by Captain Carlton, in his narrative of his services under Lord Peterborough during the Spanish succession war.

“ Here (at Valencia) I met with the French engineer, who made the mine under the rock of the castle at Alicant; that fatal mine, which blew up General Richards, Colonel Syburg, Colonel Thornicroft, and at least twenty more officers. And yet by the account that engineer gave me, their fate was their own choosing; the General, who commanded at that siege, being more industrious to save them, than they were to be saved: he endeavoured in many ways: he sent them word of the mine and

his readiness to spring it ; he over and over sent them offers of leave to come and take a view of it, and inspect it.

“ Notwithstanding all which, though Colonel Thornicroft, and Captain Page, a French engineer in the service of King Charles, pursued the invitation, and were permitted to view it, yet would they not believe ; but reported on their return, that it was a sham mine, a feint only to intimidate them to a surrender, all the bags being filled with sand, instead of gunpowder. The very day on which the besiegers designed to spring the mine they gave notice of it, and the people of the neighbourhood ran up in crowds to an opposite hill, in order to see it : nevertheless, although those in the castle saw all this, they still remained so infatuated, as to imagine it all done only to affright them. At length the fatal mine was sprung, and all who were upon that battery lost their lives ; and, among them, those I first mentioned. The very recital hereof made me think within myself, who can resist his fate ?

“ That engineer added, further, that it was with an incredible difficulty, that he prepared that mine ; that there were in the concavity thirteen hundred barrels of powder ; notwithstanding which, it made no great noise without, whatever it might do inwardly ; that only taking away what might be not improperly termed an excrescence in the rock, the

leave on the blast had rendered the castle rather stronger on that side than it was before ; a crevice or crack which had often occasioned apprehension, being thereby rendered wholly close and firm again."

The knowledge of fortification points out the methods of attacking and defending places ; of entrenching a camp, a position, or post ; of distinguishing the different sorts of entrenchments, their strong and weak parts ; it enables us to judge of the construction and situation of fortresses, and where they are most assailable ; whether from the disadvantageous nature of the ground, from the bad distribution of the garrison, or any other circumstance.

To enter into detail of the complicated scientific means resorted to in modern sieges, would be impossible here ; but it may be shortly explained, that as soon as the place is invested, the usual proceeding of the besiegers is to approach under protection of trenches, which they dig as they advance, with as little risk of life as practicable, to the outer edge of the ditch, called the counterscarp ; and from thence to batter the opposite wall, or scarp, till it crumbles into a heap of rubbish, such as the storming party (first dropping into the ditch) can climb up, protected by a heavy fire over their heads, from a covering party sent to support them, and so gain an entrance over the walls. Sometimes the counter-

scarp or outer edge of the ditch is blown in by mines, which crumble down its edge to facilitate the assault, and sometimes a sudden escalade with ladders is attempted, instead of battering down the scarp at all ; but the more common operation is, as before observed, to make a gradual approach by means of digging ditches, and throwing up banks of earth ; the first one parallel to the walls, then advancing by trenches dug in a zig-zag direction ; forming a second parallel ; again advancing by zig-zag cuts or saps to a third parallel trench, and finally establishing breaching batteries on the covered way close to the town ditch.

To mark out the parallels and the zig-zag trenches which lead into them, would be too great a risk of the engineer officer's life, if done in broad daylight under the fire of the besieged. This is, therefore, usually performed at dusk, with white lines stretched by pegs in the proper direction. The troops who are to dig them do not arrive and commence their task till it is so dark that they are not seen from the town.

The following curious narrative from Jones's Sieges in Spain, illustrates the manner of tracing the trenches, and the importance of the lines for digging being carefully marked, so as not to expose the workmen to fire. Colonel Jones thus gives the facts.

“ When the approaches are advancing up the glacis, the removal of the line should be particularly attended to, as the following fact proves. At the last siege of Badajoz, Captain Ellicombe being on duty at the advanced sap on the glacis of the lunette of St. Roque, at dusk went to adjust the lines of direction of the sap for the night, he found those returns already begun, drawn in a very good line, quite clear of enfilade ; but the return marked by the white line, and not commenced, he found to fall directly upon the castle.

“ Upon his return to the camp, he mentioned what a lucky discovery he had made, that the return of the sap to be executed that night had, through some mistake or accident, been traced in the direct enfilade of three guns ; it was considered to have been an accident of the white line catching unobserved in the dark against a stone or brick, and the circumstance was related, and no more thought on, till, on a perusal of some public documents found in the place, the two following orders appeared.

28 Mars.

L'ennemi ayant tracé un boyau au moyeu d'un cordeau, qu'il a placé la nuit dernière, pour cheminer sur le glacis de la lunette St. Roque, M. le Lieut. Mailhet, du génie, se rendra à la nuit tom-

bante à la place d'armes saillante de cette lunette d'ou il enverra le mineur, pour lever le cordeau à l'extremité de gauche, et lui donner une direction plus rapprochée de la lunette, de manière a pouvoir enfler au jour le travail qu'il aura executé ; cette opération delicate, qui fera perdre une nuit à l'ennemi, doit etre dirigée avec tout le soin et l'intelligence possible.

LAMARRE, Colonel du Génie.

29 Mars.

Le Caporal de Mineurs Stoll, a fait hier un trait de bravoure bien digne d'etre cité. Ce militaire, à la nuit tombante, a été déranger de place le cordeau que le génie (engineer) ennemi, avait placé le jour, pour le travail de nuit. Le General Gouverneur a ordonné qu'il recevrait une recompense de 200 francs, et que sa belle conduite serait soumise à S. E. Monsieur le Maréchal Duc de Dahnatie.

"It is greatly to be desired," says a skilful engineer, "that every officer would at least apply so much of his time to the study of fortification, as to acquire a certain degree of knowledge of the attack and defence of places. This would render him much more qualified for important commands ; for there must necessarily occur many instances in war, in which an officer is called to the attack or defence

of a post without much time for preparation ; and it cannot be doubted, that he who shall have gained some insight into this art, will be able to acquit himself with greater credit and reputation than he who shall have totally neglected it, from the foolish persuasion that bravery alone will accomplish everything."

COMMISSARIAT.

Another very important branch of military knowledge is the arrangement for feeding and subsisting large bodies of men ; and perhaps there is no part of the art of war requiring more diligence and judgment to bring it to that degree of perfection, without which the marching and movement of armies can never be depended upon with the certainty necessary for the success of combined operations.

But the whole organization of the Commissariat of the British army is of so peculiar a nature, and so totally different from any other service, that it is difficult to treat of it as an existing system.

At the end of the last European war it had been brought, by the incessant and unwearied attention of the Duke of Wellington, to a surprising degree of perfection ; and the commissaries, with their assistants, and clerks, were so identified with the different divisions, brigades, and regiments, to

which each was specially attached, that the whole worked as one machine ; and if provisions existed at all in the district, or could by any exertion be brought up from the depots in the rear, the troops were as secure of the regularity of their rations as if they had been in barracks at home.

Unfortunately this admirable Commissariat ended with the circumstances which created it ; and though most of its officers found employment at home or in the colonies, their new duties bore no resemblance to those of the field to which they had been trained with such pains and perseverance. From the saddle they were now removed to the desk, and instead of frequent hard days' riding to look after and collect their supplies, they had now only to make formal issues from long-prepared stores, and to keep their accounts in proper order ; in short, they necessarily reverted to their original position of government accountants.

Perhaps it may be difficult to remedy the inconvenience, but certainly it is a most serious one, that from our Commissariat being under civil organization in peace time, whenever a British army takes the field again in Europe, the Commander of it will have to go through, all over again, the training and formation of his field commissaries, and will probably find it almost as hard a task as that which the Duke had to perform at the beginning of the Peninsular

war. It may be well to show what that task was, by quoting from a recent and very able writer, whose description explains in the best manner the arduous duties of the field commissariat of our army in Spain and Portugal, in times of emergency.

“The Duke, foreseeing the alarming consequences of want of system in the department, and well knowing that an army without provisions is infinitely *worse* than muskets without ammunition, on the 9th of May, 1809, and subsequently, took extraordinary pains to draw up with his own hand a code of minute regulations for the formation of a commissariat, for the promotion of its officers, and for their respective duties, which he clearly detailed. He also ordered the organization of eight hundred bullock-carts of prescribed patterns, in two grand divisions, each to be superintended by an officer of the commissariat; each of these divisions of four hundred carts to be composed of eight subdivisions of fifty carts, under a commissariat clerk; each subdivision into two brigades of twenty-five carts. The weight which every description of carriage was to carry he prescribed; also how the bullocks were to be shod; how much barley or Indian corn, besides forage, each was to receive per day; lastly, to the whole he appointed an efficient establishment of *capatazes*, smiths, and drivers. Under similar arrangements, he directed the organization of brigades of mules.

These preliminaries having been completed, to every division of the army he appointed a deputy Commissary general, with a sufficient number of clerks, interpreters, *capatazes*, herdsmen, &c. ; and to each brigade of infantry, to each regiment of cavalry, to the artillery, and to head-quarters, he attached an assistant commissary, with assistants, &c., adequate to the duties he had to perform. Finally, in the rear of the army, he provided, under the charge of store-keepers, for the safe custody of the enormous necessary amount of provisions and forage.

“ F6r the maintenance of the Portuguese army, he organized similar establishments, placed solely and exclusively under the direction of the Portuguese government, and of the Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese army.

“ Under this system the commissariat department, at great cost, became gradually accomplished in field service. For instance, although a corps of the army had occasionally to advance twenty miles per day, for twenty consecutive days, (Sir Thomas Picton’s division marched in 1813 for thirty-four days through muddy roads without a halt to the battle of Vittoria,) its Commissary was enabled actually during the march to find, purchase, pay for, and grind, wheat, which, by the assistance of innumerable women, and by orders of various municipal authorities, had to be kneaded, baked into bread,

and finally to be delivered, together with rations of meat, wine, or spirits, to the troops in cantonments extending say four or five miles. He had, moreover, by means of his assistants, to procure, transport, and distribute, forage for the cavalry, artillery, and for other horses of the division. Under the exigencies of this service, which often required ready-money payments, a young deputy-assistant commissary, under due precautions, had frequently to despatch, in various directions, by conductors and *capatazes* receiving only two or three shillings a day, sums of money amounting to two hundred, three hundred, or one thousand dollars, to procure provisions, for which vouchers in triplicate were to be required. Nevertheless, by the power of the discipline which had been organized, a common muleteer, whose clothes were not literally worth ten shillings, was sometimes, almost without anxiety, despatched alone in charge of a mule-load of silver; nay, the Commissary himself had occasionally to ride for twenty-four or forty-eight successive hours, crossing mountains full of wolves, in charge of mules laden with dollars, and driven by a few trusty Spaniards, in garb and education exactly resembling banditti.

“Besides exertions such as have been described, the jaded Commissary, after having managed to feed his division, had at night, through cantonments in a

strange country, to search among innumerable camp fires for his own tent, around which he was almost sure to find a crowd of muleteers and peasants waiting to be paid. By candle-light, he had then, under a system devised by the treasury, voluminous, vexatious, and almost impracticable, to endeavour to make up his accounts, arrange his vouchers, answer letters, &c., until, while his papers were still before him, and his money-chests by his side, all of a sudden the bugles, trumpets, &c., of the *reveillée*, at various distances, and in all directions, would be heard to sound, echo, and re-echo, on which the canvass over his head would obediently begin to flap, in signal that his servant was striking the tent ; in short, that his office was about to vanish into pure air ; and thus say at three A.M. the Commissary had again to mount his horse, and, actually before his division had continued its march, to search for, and transport to it, wherever it might halt, sustenance for both men and horses for another day !”

ESSAY XVI.

MILITARY ELOQUENCE AND WRITING.

ONE of the most necessary accomplishments for an officer, is to express himself, in writing his own language, with facility, brevity, and clearness. It is surprising how few attain to these requisites; some aim so much at elegance of language, that they involve their meaning in obscurity, by endeavouring to select their words, with more care than they bestow on the order and arrangement of their thoughts. Others employ so much circumlocution in conveying their orders or instructions, that they lose sight of the main points they seek to inculcate, and destroy the effect of their labours, by overloading them with epithets and expletives.

Then the dignity affected by some officers in the wording of orders is too apt to lead them into a pompous style, which, far from producing any deference or respect, only invites ridicule and criticism. Hard and fine words, and complicated sentences, are anything but appropriate in military writing,

and it is far better for an officer, when pressed for time, to write without grace, than to write without perspicuity. The best letter is that which is quickest read, and easiest understood, and the best expressions for the wording of orders (no matter whether for a regimental parade, or for a general action) are those which the dullest and most pragmatical head can neither mistake nor misconstrue; but in avoiding wordiness, it must be recollected, that if too much brevity is attempted, it may lead to a vagueness of meaning quite as dangerous as the confusion arising from prolixity.

A curious example of a short and energetic military order is preserved in the Archives at Vienna. It is Wallenstein's note to Pappenheim to hasten the march of his detached corps to take part in the battle of Lutzen in 1632, and was found on the person of that gallant leader, stained with his blood, when his body was discovered late in the evening of that terrible conflict. It contains but these words,—

Lutzen, Nov. 15, 1632.

The enemy marches hitherwards. You must let all stand and lie, and make your way hither with all your people and guns, so as to be with us by to-morrow early.

P.S. He is already at the pass where the bad road was yesterday.

Pappenheim obeyed with all speed, and having done his part nobly, fell, covered with wounds, in the thickest of the battle.

Spinola, one of the most celebrated generals in the service of Spain, after his conquest of the Palatinate in the early part of the thirty years' war, had entered the Netherlands, and captured Juliers in 1622, but was compelled to abandon his first undertaking there, (the siege of Bergen-op-zoom) by the superior forces under Mansfeldt, sent against him by Prince Maurice of Nassau. Since that time, dissension on points of religion had much disturbed the union of the Dutch against their common enemy. Two great parties divided the councils of Holland, the Gomarists, who were supported by the Nassau princès, and the Arminians, who were popular among the lower orders, and the republican faction.

To efface the disgrace of his failure before Bergen-op-zoom, Spinola was anxious to undertake some important operation which should give him a good footing in the Dutch territory, and fixed on the important fortress of Breda as most fit for his object. About twenty-five years had elapsed since the siege of Ostend had drawn the attention of Europe, and had attracted to its walls many illustrious foreigners from France, England, and Denmark, who were led by military curiosity to view so interesting a scene.

The operations before Breda were hardly less important, and the eyes of all Christendom were directed to the achievements of the contending parties. Breda was a town of a triangular form, in Dutch Brabant, about three miles in circumference, and situated on a plain which was covered with thick woods, and intersected by the rivers Merke and Aa. These streams united near its walls, and after their junction, flowed through the town, under the name of Merkendaal. Breda had been surprised by a stratagem of Prince Maurice, in the year 1590, during the government of the Duke of Parma, and had ever since remained in the hands of the Dutch. Its fortifications had been rendered strong by art, and it was also protected by the streams, woods, and morasses with which it was environed. There was a tower in the middle of the town, about four hundred feet in height, whence all the adjacent country could be descried. The garrison, composed of French, Flemings, English, and Dutch, to the number of seven thousand, was commanded by Justin of Nassau, a prince of the House of Orange, distinguished for intrepidity and skill.

Spinola was well aware of the difficulties of the enterprize. He knew that Breda had been well garrisoned, and provided with all necessary supplies, and he foresaw that every effort would be made for the relief of a town which contained the principal

treasures of the States. He had also been perplexed by the immense variety of opinions, averse to his own, which were held in the army he commanded. He stated his hesitation and difficulties to the court of Madrid, and promptly received from Philip IV. the laconic reply, — "Marques sumais Breda. — YO EL REY."

This decisive answer was highly agreeable to Spinola, and gave confidence to his army; but it should not be omitted, that when, after wonderful exertion and prodigious loss, Breda at length fell into his hands, Spinola behaved with a generosity which did him honour. The siege had always been unpopular with his officers and troops, on account of bad quarters and unhealthy damps of the country round about. Many of the soldiers had deserted, and gone off in different directions; but those who remained, were looking forward to a great booty, whenever the town should surrender, and were eagerly anticipating one of those terrible sacks which too often occurred at that period.

Spinola, by the arrest of two men employed as spies, became fully aware of the utter extremity of the garrison; yet from respect for their valour and the bravery and skill of the Governor, Prince Justin of Nassau, he granted them the most honourable conditions, permitting them to march out with the honours of war and their banners displayed, positively refusing

to allow his men the least act of pillage or violence, and waiting, with his chief officers round him, to salute and greet the Prince, as he marched through the lines, with every mark of courtesy and honour.

History abounds with examples of very striking and interesting letters on almost every contingency of life from eminent military persons, which show at least that we have made but little progress in these days of high civilization in that art of expressing the thoughts and feelings, which must in all ages depend so much more on the mind and character of the writer, than on any assistance of education.

What can exceed the simple dignity and pathos of the following letter, which was written in 1690, on his death-bed, by the brave Duke of Lorraine to his brother-in-law the Emperor Leopold, whose armies he had long and gloriously commanded.

“ SIR,

“ In obedience to your summons I left Innspruck to repair to Vienna, but my progress is arrested here by a higher power. To him I must now render my account of a life I have faithfully devoted to your service.

“ Bear in mind that I leave behind me a wife in whom you have a deep interest, children to whom^a I can bequeath nothing but my sword, and subjects oppressed by the hard hand of a stranger.”

It is scarce possible to read the death-bed letter of the Emperor Joseph II. to his devoted friend and distinguished General, the famous Marshal Lascy, without being struck with the deep and grateful feeling by which it is marked. It runs thus.

“ MY DEAR MARSHAL,

“ It is only from inability to trace these few lines with my own trembling hand, that I have recourse to that of another. I perceive the moment of our separation rapidly approaching. I should be most ungrateful were I to leave this world, without repeating to you the acknowledgment of all I owe you, which indeed it has ever been my pride to display to the world. If I have been at all useful in this life, it is to you I am indebted for my best instruction, and for my knowledge of mankind. To you my armies owe their formation, their renown, and their honour.

“ The soundness of your counsel on all occasions, that personal friendship which has never failed me on any emergency, these are the recollections which so press upon my heart, that I am quite unable to express my thanks. I have witnessed your grief for my expected end; the regret of a great and wise man is a noble memorial. Farewell, and again farewell. All the sorrow I feel at leaving this world is, at the separation from those I love, of whom you

indeed are among the chief. Bear me in your remembrance as your sincere friend,

“JOSEPH.”

Somewhat of a different style, but of a very lofty yet simple character, is Maria Theresa's well-known letter to Count Palfy, who headed 30,000 Hungarians to defend Bohemia in 1744.

“FATHER PALFY,

“Receive this horse, worthy of being mounted by the most zealous of my Hungarians; use this sword to defend me against my enemies, and wear this ring as a token of my affection.

“MARIA THERESA.”

The celebrated Lord Clive appears to have had the art, without attempting either grace or dignity of style, to convey in all he wrote that resolute and determined spirit which so peculiarly belonged to his character; and there can be no doubt but that this power very frequently contributed to inspire those under his orders with a corresponding energy when he was forming that combination of measures by which he succeeded in driving Suraj ud Dowlah from the throne of Bengal, and replacing him by Meer Jaffier, his own general, who was to revolt against him under protection of the English. Mr.

Gleig tells us, in his interesting narrative, of the affair.

“The plan agreed upon by the confederates amounted to this: that, as soon as he should be informed of the maturity of his friend’s preparations, Clive would advance to Plassey; that Meer Jaffier, instead of giving him battle, should join with his whole corps; and that the allied armies, marching upon Moorshedabad, should seize Suraj-u-Dowlah in his palace, and raise Meer Jaffier to the throne. Meanwhile, the better to deceive the object of their plot, Clive, towards the end of April, announced his intention of putting his troops into quarters. He entreated Suraj-u-Dowlah to imitate his example by withdrawing his people from Plassey, and received in return promises, which were never accomplished.

“Here, then, was a fair excuse for throwing off the mask; and an ill-advised attack on a boat which was proceeding with a supply of arms and ammunition from Calcutta to Cossimbazar, added to its weight. Clive’s tone immediately changed. He wrote to Mr. Watts that ‘the Nabob was a villain.’ He desired that Meer Jaffier should be secured, by a prompt ratification of the treaty that was between them, and then went on as follows:—

“‘To-morrow we decamp: part of our forces go to Calcutta, the other will go into garrison here

(at Chandernagore); and, to take away all suspicion, I have ordered all the artillery and tumbrils to be embarked in boats and sent to Calcutta. I have wrote the Nabob a soothing letter; this accompanies another of the same kind, and one to Mohun Lal, (a creature of Suraj-u-Dowlah,) agreeable to your desire. Enter into business with Meer Jaffier as soon as you please. I am ready, and will engage to be at Nusary in twelve hours after I receive your letter, which place is to be the rendezvous of the whole army. The major who commands at Calcutta has all ready to embark at a moment's warning, and has boats sufficient to carry artillery to Nusary. I will march by land and join him there; we will then proceed to Moorshedabad, or the place we are to be joined at, directly. *Tell Meer Jaffier to fear nothing; that I will join him with five thousand men who never turned their backs; and that, if he fails seizing him, we shall be strong enough to drive him out of the country. Assure him I will march day and night to his assistance, and stand by him, while I have a man left.*”

One more instance of Clive's decided style of writing as well as acting, must not here be omitted. In 1758, shortly after Meer Jaffier had been raised by him to the throne of Bengal, the Dutch, after entering into several intrigues to injure the British interests in that quarter, took advantage of the

weakness of Clive's force, (which had been reduced by some necessary detachments) to assemble in the autumn, a ~~squadron~~ of five ships, three of which were well armed, and putting on board about eight hundred Dutch troops and as many Asiatics, boldly sailed up the Ganges, without assigning any pretext for so unusual a proceeding.

Clive at once saw the necessity of prompt and decided notice being taken of this strange act of the Dutch; he instantly demanded from Meer Jaffier an order to prohibit the Dutch ships ascending higher up the river than Fulda. The better to enforce obedience to this mandate, he equipped all the little forts, which had been established on the banks of the river, with heavy guns, placed the militia-men of Calcutta under arms, and ordered back the detachment from Patna, while at the same time his guard-boats stopped every small craft which showed itself, and would allow nothing to pass on board of which were either troops or military stores. The Dutch remonstrated, complained, and were vehement in their professions of meaning no harm; but Clive adhered to his purpose, and got the Nabob at last to issue an injunction for the immediate departure of the strangers from his territories. But the Dutch would not move; on the contrary, it was ascertained that they had agents at various places, who had raised recruits for their service, and sent them by twos and threes either to Fulda or

Chinchura. It was manifest to Clive that evil must shortly come, either upon his own government, or upon these strangers; and he was not slow in resolving that his own government should not be the sufferers. To be sure, there was no war as yet between England and Holland: neither, in strict justice, was it competent in him to determine how many, or how few troops, the Dutch East India Company should maintain at their settlement of Chinchura. But the game was one of policy, not of justice, on both sides; and Clive, prevailing to have the Nabob as his partner, played it without fear. He assembled a force of three or four hundred Europeans, and eight hundred Sepoys, which, with six pieces of cannon, he sent, under Colonel Forde's orders, to cut off the communication, by land, between Chinchura and the Dutch anchorage. Forde conducted the enterprise very ably: he crossed the river, engaged in a skirmish in the outskirts of Chander-nagore, and drove back a party from the garrison into Chinchura. He had hardly done so, when intelligence reached him that the Dutch had landed from the vessels, and were marching towards him. He wrote himself to inform Clive, adding this hint, "that, if he had only an order of Council, he would attack the Dutch, and had a fair prospect of destroying them." Clive happened to be engaged in a rubber of whist when this important communication reached him. He did not so much as rise from

the table, but wrote with a pencil on a slip of paper, "Dear Forde, fight them immediately, and I will send you the order of Council to-morrow." Forde was not a man to hesitate after such a recommendation, and it is scarce necessary to add, that he completely defeated the Dutch force, and put an entire stop, by this energetic proceeding, to any further attempt at aggression.

. The despatches of the Duke of Wellington abound in models of short and clear orders ; for instance, that dated Villa Hermosa, May 7, 1811 ; "The Commander of the Forces requests that when an officer wishes a report of the movements of the enemy, he will specify whether consisting of cavalry, infantry, or artillery ; the number, as far as he can judge ; the time when seen ; and the road on which moving ; from what place, and to what place, if the officer can state it ; and if reference shall be made to the *right* or *left* in the report, whether to the right of our own army, or to that of the enemy."

Again in his despatch from Tordesillas, after the battle of Salamanca, to well-merited praise he adds a comment equally just and applicable in these few lines.

"Tordesillas, July 23, 1812.

"The Commander of the Forces returns his thanks to the officers and troops for their conduct in action with the enemy on the 22nd inst., of which he

will not fail to make the favourable report it deserves to H. R. H. the Prince Regent.

“ He trusts that the events of yesterday have impressed all with a conviction, that *military success depends upon troops obeying the orders they receive*, and preserving the order of their formation in action, and that upon no occasion they will allow themselves to depart from it for one moment.”

Then, where can a more impressive admonition be found than in the following plain and few words, in reference to a court-martial in 1810, upon an officer who had used insubordinate expressions to his Colonel. “ The officers of the army should recollect that it is not only no degradation, but that it is meritorious in him who is in the wrong, to acknowledge and atone for his error ; and that the momentary humiliation which a man may feel upon making such acknowledgment, is more than atoned for by the subsequent satisfaction which it affords him.”

It is not only in the letters of great and renowned personages we must look for the expression of military spirit. Among the lowest ranks of the British army we sometimes find surprising devotion to the service, and a zeal for the cause they are engaged in, which communicates to their writings a more than common interest. The following is a literal transcript from the letter of a Corporal in

the 9th Lancers to his father, a respectable tradesman in Surrey ; and though his unqualified predilection for his native place and neighbourhood may excite a smile, yet every word in this original epistle was perfectly true, "as to the conduct and success of his friends, in their humble but honourable path to military advancement.

" Cawnpore, Sept. 9, 1843.

" MY DEAR FATHER,

" It is with great pleasure I now sit down to write to you, hoping by this time your health is perfectly restored, and I am happy to say that I am in the best of health, and hope to continue so ; although about twenty days' march away from here the cholera is raging dreadfully, and the 36th foot have lost 300 men in about three weeks ; but we have been very lucky since I wrote last, and have only lost four men ; but still we have always a great number sick, generally about 100 in hospital at a time, with the fever, but it is not dangerous, only it makes the duty very hard for us that are well, and it is my opinion that fretting kills half the men that die in India, and so I keep my spirits up, hoping to see better days. I have volunteered to enter the field with two squadrons of ours that are going to Scinde on the 15th of next month, to join the reserve army. We shall have some hard work of it I

have no doubt; but never mind, I shall come away from it safe I feel confident, *and with honour too, or else I will stay there altogether.* They have a tremendous army ready to oppose us, but we shall make them humble themselves to the British flag. It would surprise you to see the Cawnpore army; a finer body of men is not to be found in the world. Horse artillery, foot artillery, 50th foot, 2nd Europeans, and 11th hussars; native cavalry also; eight native infantry regiments and our own, which of course takes the shine out of them all—how could we be otherwise? New clothing, all young horses, and thorough-bred Arabians, and all new saddlery and appointments of every kind. You would like to see us; nothing could please you much better; and, to tell you the truth, I should be as happy as a prince were it not that we are so far apart. You are now getting old, and I should like to be near you. I drank George's health on the 26th of August, so did my comrade, Corporal C—; he is a nice young fellow, and is likely to do well in the regiment: he was my comrade in Gravesend. We have been unfortunately parted for some time, but as we are more like brothers than comrade soldiers, we never forget one another. There is a man in the 50th whose name is D—; he knows you; his father was a buttermilk in Richmond, and used to drive a nice cart with a grey

MILITARY ELOQUENCE.

horse through Kingston very often. He too is a corporal—in fact, *all that come from anywhere near Kingston* are corporals and sergeants—that shows you how Surrey men are esteemed in the army! The 16th lancers are, I believe, to start for England in January next. It is a fine regiment, much about the same as my own, and have been twenty years here fighting in India; they were at Ghuznee, Cabul, Lahore, and several other places, and returned loaded with honour. I hope we may do as well; there is every appearance of it, and some of these days, I suppose, I shall be coming to Chelsea with an arm or a leg off: but God's will be done. I must now think of shortening this scrawl, hoping that all are quite well, happy, and comfortable, and that the Lord's blessing may rest upon you all.

“ I remain,

“ Your affectionate son,

(Signed) “ CLEMENT JAS. C——R.”

We read that it was usual among the ancients for generals to harangue their soldiers previous to an engagement. Short harangues, if any are uttered, must always prove the best; for that natural impulse by which the aggregate of mankind are urged and excited to acts of dangerous enterprise or endurance, is of too volatile a nature to bear long attention.

Many of the classic historians give us as full a de-

tail of military speeches addressed to armies before battles, as if they had them taken down by one of the short-hand writers of modern days. It is plain, however, that the greater part of these speeches have been drawn up by these ingenious writers themselves, and put into the lips of the heroes whom they have thought proper to celebrate. Those which contain good common sense, and are conveyed in short pithy sentences, are alone likely to have produced good effects.

Eloquence is certainly a qualification which derives a high value from its extraordinary influence on the minds of men: but it is not, in our days, an essential requisite in a General, especially as the extent of the modern order of battle would be far beyond any man's voice on such occasions. Cæsar was naturally endowed with a most persuasive talent in the exercise of words; and he used it, on many occasions, to considerable advantage. The manner in which he was accustomed to address his men became so celebrated, that several persons belonging to his army carefully selected his military harangues; and we are told by authority, that the Emperor Augustus took much pleasure in having them read to him.

But let an harangue be ever so eloquent, it is always less persuasive than the countenance of the commander: in situations of a critical nature the soldier

generally endeavours to read the countenance of his officer. If he sees him firm and composed, he himself, becomes confident; if, on the other hand, he discovers any signs of uncertainty in his looks, he is alarmed, or discouraged. Thus an officer ought never to discover any emotion at whatever may excite disquietude in the soldier. Let his aspect on such occasions be calm, firm, and unmoved; let nothing disclose agitation. Let his manners be free as usual, and let him assume, as much as possible, an air of gaiety and unconcern. Before an engagement, it was the custom of the Duke of Marlborough to ride along the front of his Lines; and with a face of more than usual cheerfulness, to tell the troops to be steady, to go on and keep up their fire, and the enemy would soon be disposed of. So entirely did this great General possess the confidence of his men, that even when it seemed impossible that they should be extricated from their difficulties, they were accustomed to make themselves easy, saying: "Well, it is no matter to us; *Corporal John*" (for so the soldiers called him) "will find some way to bring us off."

A studied speech, even if it could be heard by the troops, is more calculated to show a desire in a General to display his oratory than any expectation of producing useful effects on the

mind of his officers and soldiers, and exciting them to do their duty. Military eloquence ought to derive all its strength from the moment, the circumstances, and the occasion, which prompt it. To adapt himself to the situation, the time, and the disposition of the soldiers,—this is the genuine rhetoric of an officer. An address to troops ought to be simple and plain, and more replete with sense than with words.—That of Henry IV. of France, at the battle of Yvri, was of this nature. Just before the engagement, this Prince passing along the line, and showing to his army his helmet surmounted with a white plume, called aloud to them : “Comrades, if by any chance you find yourselves separated from your standards, here is your signal of rallying, which you will always find on the way to victory.”

An equally forcible appeal was made by the great Gustavus to his principal officers before the battle of Leipzig, as described by Harte :—

“The two armies being now within three miles of each other, his Majesty, the evening before the battle, assembled all the Generals, and having ranged them round him in a circle in the midst of the plain, (for the Swedes lay that night in the open air,) told them plainly, since he discovered a spirit of resolution in their countenances, that they were to-morrow to fight with troops of a different stamp from Polanders and Cossacks. ‘Fellow-soldiers,’ said

he, 'I shall not dissemble the danger. You will have a day's work that is worthy of you. It is not my fashion to diminish the merit of veteran troops, like the Imperialists ; but I know my officers, and scorn the thought of deceiving them. Our numbers, too, are inferior to those of the enemy, but, my friends, God is just, and *remember Magdeburg* ;' alluding to the dreadful sack of that unfortunate city by the Imperialists, under Tilly, the year before."

There are cases in which no other resource must be left to the soldier than victory, by clearly showing him that it is his only refuge. He must on such occasions be convinced that flight would be more fatal than a glorious resistance : that in flying he would commit himself entirely to the mercy of the enemy ; but in defending his life he may both save himself, and gain renown and honour.

In 1600, Prince Maurice, having projected an attack on the Archduke at Nieuport, sent away, before the action, all the vessels which had conveyed his army into Flanders. "My friends," said he to his soldiers, "we must now either fall instantly on the enemy, or be driven into the sea. Take your choice ; mine is already made. I will either conquer by your valour, or I will never survive the disgrace of being beaten by troops who despise us." His address, full of confidence and spirit, had an instant

effect upon his army ; who fell on the Spaniards with so much spirit and bravery, that after a severe contest, in which the Archduke received a wound which obliged him to quit the field, to the great discouragement of the Spaniards, the Duke gained a complete victory. This act, apparently so rash, was in reality a measure of great wisdom, and the only one to be adopted in so critical an emergence. It was necessary to redouble the ardour of the troops ; for which purpose the most effectual method was, to put them into a situation where they should have no choice but victory, or certain and inglorious death. Nor on this occasion was any advantage of real importance sacrificed. If he had been beaten, his retreat was already impossible ; for even had he reserved his vessels, the conqueror would never have allowed his army sufficient time to have recourse to them in safety. He knew also the great advantage which he should derive from attacking the Spaniards after a long and harassing march, which they had been making in the heat of the day, and that he should also obtain no small superiority from the circumstance of a violent gale of wind which blew in the backs of his own army, and right in the faces of their opponents, carrying with it clouds of sand from the downs on which the battle took place, and thus blinding their eyes, and impeding them in the use of their fire-arms.

At the great battle of Leipsic, the Imperialists having routed the Saxon troops who were opposed to them in that part of the field, were so excited by the heat of success and by the hope also of plunder, that they rushed on to the baggage as if their victory had been no longer doubtful. Gustavus, with that rapid glance for which he was so distinguished, (though his sight was by no means a long one,) instantly saw his advantage, and leaving the infantry to defend the ground he had gained, put himself at the head of a large body of horse, and shouting in his voice of thunder, "Follow me, and fear nothing!" rushed furiously into the midst of the Imperialists, doing dreadful execution on them, while scattered in disorder, and engaged in plundering his baggage they could make no resistance.

At the battle of Prague, early in the seven years' war, after one of the Prussian regiments had broken through the enemy's line, it found its further advance impeded by a broad and muddy ditch. As it was near the suburbs, there lay, across the ditch, several planks, which served as bridges for the foot passengers who were continually crossing it in a populous neighbourhood. The soldiers, uncertain of the depth of the ditch and fearing to run the chance, began to file singly over the planks with much waste of time, besides the loss of order. Prince Henry galloped up on seeing this check, and perceiving

the cause of the delay and confusion, threw himself in an instant from his horse, and springing boldly into the water, cried, "Follow me, my children." It is needless to say, his example was enough, and in a moment the brave Prussians dashed through the ditch, and followed up their success.

To speak to English troops requires perhaps more tact than to address any other European soldiery. An Englishman must be dealt with in plain words, and he must be told the plain truth. No declamation or flourish of oratory will have much effect on him—quite the reverse—he will think it ridiculous, and only laugh at any one who ventures thus to impose upon his natural good common sense.

The French soldiers in Egypt thought it a very fine thing to be assured in Buonaparte's celebrated order or bulletin, "that the world was looking at them from the top of the Pyramids," but had such a sentence been addressed to Englishmen, they would have been struck with surprise at the notion, and then turned it into a thousand absurd jests among themselves, instead of being proud of the compliment.

In 1745, a body of nearly 1000 French troops, made a descent on one of the islands in the West Indies. Mr. Hodges, the Governor, drew up 100 men, all he had, and encouraged them with these few words: "Gentlemen, I am ignorant of military

discipline ; all I can recommend to you is to load and fire as fast as you can, and stand true to your colours to the last man." These orders were executed with such resolution, that the enemy were driven to their ships with heavy loss, and compelled to quit the island.

It is curious that a very similar case, and attended with equally fortunate results, occurred afterwards in the West Indies, when a considerable body of French troops, who landed at St. Lucie, were defeated by a handful of British soldiers who had retired to an eminence called St. Vigie, under Sir William Meadows. This brave and gallant officer, after having been wounded in his right arm, rallied the fifth regiment of foot in front of the colours ; and waving his sword in the left-hand, enthusiastically exclaimed : " Soldiers, as long as you have a bayonet left to point against the breasts of your enemies, defend these colours."

ESSAY XVII.

HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, AND LANGUAGES. *

ONE of our most sensible as well as elegant writers has said, in reference to the danger of idleness to young men : “ Idleness is so general a distemper, that there is hardly one person without some alloy of it ; and thousands, besides myself, spend more time in an idle uncertainty, which to begin of two affairs, than would have been sufficient to have ended them both.

“ The occasion of this seems to be the want of some necessary employment to put the spirits in motion, and awaken them out of their lethargy. If I had less leisure, I should have more ; for I should then find my time distinguished into portions, some for business, and others for the indulging of plea-

asures ; but now, one face of indolence overspreads the whole, and I have no landmark to direct myself by.

“ Indolence is a stream which flows slowly on, but yet undermines the foundation of every virtue. A vice of a more lively nature were a more desirable tyrant than this rust of the mind, which gives a tincture of its nature to every action of one’s life. It were as little hazard to be lost in a storm, as to be thus perpetually becalmed ; and it is to no purpose to have within one the seeds of a thousand good qualities, if we want the vigour and resolution necessary for exerting them.

“ To-morrow is still the fatal time, when all is to be rectified. To-morrow comes ; it goes ; and still I please myself with the shadow, while I lose the reality, unmindful that the present time alone is ours, the future is yet unborn, and the past is dead, and can only live (as do parents in their children) in the actions it has produced.”

The best method of employing time profitably, is to form an uniform and systematical plan of life, to assign to each particular pursuit its destined hours, and if possible, to suffer nothing to derange this order. It seldom answers to begin with fatiguing the mind with application and study ; it is only by degrees that studious habits can be properly acquired. The desire of instruction springs from instruction

itself; study then becomes agreeable to us, and is a pleasing resource for those hours when we wish to retire from the vexations of the world;—and such hours are far from unfrequent, even in a life of the greatest dissipation.

The first ten years that a man passes in the service, are the most proper to form and to pursue his plan of study, and to acquire habits of application. He should avail himself of this valuable season, for gaining the elements of geometry, fortification, geography, history, and those languages, for which he finds himself most inclined, and which will be useful to a soldier, as there will be little opportunity for these pursuits, when he has attained to the superior ranks. When advanced to command, and raised to a situation in which extensive duties are required, there is no longer time to attend to such studies, and he will have constant occasions of regret at having omitted the earlier acquisition of them. The officer, who has attained elevated rank, is still called upon to increase his knowledge: but the difference is, that in this situation study can be pursued only upon the foundation of what has been already learnt; and it is generally too late for acquiring the elements, in a sound and substantial manner.

Persons of indolent and inactive temper commonly impute to the defect of their memory the ignorance

that disgraces them. This alleged obstacle to the acquisition of knowledge, however, is only the pretext of idleness. Memory is a quality with which all men are to a certain degree endowed from their birth, and it is unfolded and strengthened by exercise.

The best method of cultivating and improving the memory, is to contract a habit of application ; to exercise it continually ; to reflect every day on the studies upon which you have been employed on the day previous ; to read, when there is opportunity, for an hour before you go to bed, and recal the subject when you wake in the morning : thus by degrees that memory will be improved, which was only charged with incapacity, because it had never been cultivated. But a desultory perusal of books will be of little benefit, if we suffer a needless intermission of several days, or the interruptions of pleasure, continually to break in upon our studies ; and he who reads in this way ought not to be surprised, if he should forget everything as fast as he learns it.

If it should happen that the memory is really treacherous to a young man who is solicitous to improve himself, there are various artificial methods of helping it, and assisting its operations. The practice of interlining or marking the margin of the books perused, with a pencil, at those passages which are the most striking, or which have given rise to

particular reflections, has been found very useful. But what always answers best is, to make a sort of analysis of any historical works which you read ; and to comment, and even to enter into something of the nature of a critical examination, upon such as seem to admit of it. These extracts and reflections should be carefully arranged under their respective heads. By these means the marginal notes will, in the first instance, fix the eye on the most interesting passages ; and then, by referring to the extracts, the reflections and thoughts to which these passages gave rise will immediately present themselves.

It is needless to enlarge on the utility of which these extracts may prove in the course of life, on the interest which this practice gives to study, or on the pleasing satisfaction with which the student retraces the steps he has thus trodden. There are few higher gratifications than those which attend successful labour ; and the scholar exults in his progress, as much as the peasant in his harvest.

“ The knowledge of history,” says a celebrated writer, “ gives us an insight into futurity ; by instructing us of what will be, from what has already been. What has occurred in the world that is great, surprising, or marvellous, in the ages that are past, may happen again in those that are to succeed.”

The study of the history of Europe is the first

which ought to engage the attention. After having obtained a general idea of the times anterior to that of the Emperor Charles V., a closer study should be commenced. In the history of each people, that epoch should be most carefully examined which has had the greatest influence in placing them in their present situation; paying particular attention to our own country, to comprehend its immediate relation with its allies, and thence successively with all other nations.

The main difficulty in the study of history is a clear and accurate notion of the dates and progress of time, as you pass from one event to another. A technical method of fixing a number of principal dates in the mind as land-marks and boundaries of history is of undoubted advantage, but nothing can be more fallacious than to place too much reliance on the *mere acquisition of dates*, without taking due pains to connect and follow them, by the string of occurrences to which they belong.

It has been said, and with much truth, by an eminent instructor of youth, that he had rather find an inaccuracy of a year or two in a boy's answer as to dates, provided they were brought out by the connexion of occurrences, than the most minute correctness, if obtained only by abstract exertion of the memory.

It is at the beginning of the Thirty Years' war

(1619 to 1649) that modern history becomes of most importance; for it was then that most of the political combinations originated, which afterwards moved and agitated Europe. From that time the history of every war, and every treaty of peace, requires as much attention as need be given to a whole age preceding the seventeenth century. In reading the history of these wars, it will be proper to observe the changes which the different periods have produced in military tactics; to look over attentively the narratives of the campaigns of the most celebrated generals, and the memoirs of contemporary authors. At every important treaty of peace, likewise, it will be necessary to examine the changes which it may have occasioned in Europe, to study the new interests produced, and the negotiations to which they give rise, and to learn how those great and secret springs of politics were moved, which were often as decisive as the most important victories.

Mr. Dunlop, the ingenious and accurate author of the *Memoirs of Spain during the reign of Philip IV. and Charles II.*, in reverting to the state of other parts of Europe and its influence on Spanish affairs, has given us a very perspicuous and well-considered abstract of the general outline of the Thirty Years' War. He says, "What is called the Thirty Years' War had begun in 1619; and indeed its commence-

ment must be dated at that period, in order to complete the number of years from which that celebrated and long-protracted contest has derived its appellation. At first, however, it was only a combat for the crown of Bohemia, and the sovereignty of the Palatinate, to which were soon added the remains of the war of Cleves, and the renewal of that in the Low Countries. It was not till five years after its commencement that it became the most extensive and desolating warfare that as yet had agitated Europe. From the contest in Bohemia, and the chastisement of its inhabitants who had attempted to vindicate their civil and religious privileges against the might and bigotry of the Emperor, the war had spread first over all Germany, and afterwards through the whole European commonwealth. On one side were ranged the Emperor, the Duke of Bavaria, some of the Italian states, and the King of Spain, who were thus united in a confederacy for oppressing the Lutherans and Calvinists of Germany, and aggrandizing the House of Austria. On the other hand, France and England, the Protestant States of Germany, the United Provinces, Denmark, and at length Sweden, were combined, for the purpose of protecting liberty of conscience, and setting bounds to the ambition of the Emperor. Among the northern nations, the former motive, joined to the Restoration of the Elector-Palatine, might be the prevailing spring of ac-

tion; while France, it seems certain, was chiefly influenced by the desire of humbling her ancient rival: and, in furtherance of this paramount object, she scrupled not to support abroad, a faith which she persecuted at home—to ally herself with heretic nations, and to foment in other Catholic countries those religious dissensions by which her own vitals were torn. The war was carried on from the banks of the Danube to the shores of the Baltic, in fields of everlasting renown. The campaigns of the Austrian Generals against Gustavus Adolphus, and, after the death of that monarch, against those skilful commanders who had been bred up under his standard, have afforded to the historian subjects for the most animated and interesting recital; while the bold adventures, predatory lives, and wild manners of the German soldiery, with the singular character of their leader Wallenstein—his fervid imagination, his boundless ambition, his vehement passions, his unconquerable pride, his impenetrable reserve, and the astrological visions in which he ever beheld the most bright and glorious prospects, have supplied the poet with delineations more picturesque than fiction ever portrayed.

“A frequent change in the precise object of its prosecution, and the constant accession of new parties, contributed to render the ‘Thirty Years’ War the most protracted which had desolated Europe.

It may, in fact, be divided into three periods of warfare ;—the first while Tilly and Wallenstein triumphed without check over the Protestant States of Germany, and expelled the leader of their union, Christian of Denmark, from the empire ;—the second, from the landing of Gustavus in Pomerania, till his fall at Lutzen ;—and the third, from his death till the peace of Westphalia, during which the rival powers alternately passed from the extremity of defeat to the summit of success.”

The study of history brings with it the knowledge of the characters and the passions of mankind. Nature is everywhere the same ; men are always influenced by the same impulses, and these usually produce the same effects. We must endeavour to pierce the exterior which covers them, and to develope their secret details and operations. The knowledge of men, as well as that of countries, is acquired by practice ; and habit, in this also, gives a wonderful facility to those who have devoted their attention to it.

When the student has attained a competent knowledge of the history of Europe, let him trace its genealogical and political memoirs, examine the opposite interests of governments, the family-alliances, the commerce, and reciprocal ties, of one nation with another. From this political exterior of different states, let him consider their interior arrangements, beginning with his own

country and those nations which are more immediately connected with it. In this investigation, he should direct his attention, with a mind free from prejudices, to the various governments; observing their organization, their principles, their springs of action, and causes of strength, or of weakness. Wealth is the life-blood of the state, and Agriculture and Commerce are the sources of wealth : but it is the activity of trade, the collection of taxes, the reflux of the produce of these taxes among the people by means of the expenditures of administration ; in short, it is the combination of all these sources of circulation, that constitutes the vigour and the health of the state. Without this, wealth, being stagnant in one quarter, becomes fatal by its very abundance, and disorganizes the unity of the system. Without agriculture, there is no solid wealth. Without commerce, agriculture sinks into inaction. Industry and the arts are the soul of commerce. Thus all are linked together in the ~~perpetual~~ chain : and combined in those due proportions which it is the care of the statesman to maintain.

Knowledge so extensive is to be acquired but slowly ; it is not difficult however to attain a considerable amount of it by attention and observation, at the period of life when there is ample time for such studies. For it must be remembered, that at the age of maturity men are called to *act* in the great affairs of life ; and

the season of youth is the right time for preparation. An active curiosity, which engages itself upon everything around it, resting chiefly on those objects that are connected with the plan of study it is pursuing, will by this means acquire a vast portion of information. In any foreign country or town where business or pleasure may lead you, endeavour to study its commerce, its government, and the habits and manners of its inhabitants. Act as if you were dispatched thither commissioned to give an account of these particulars to your own government. Make your inquiries of strangers and travellers: associate with persons who are well-informed; never defer till to-morrow the intelligence you might have acquired to day; and examine yourself every evening as to the fresh information which you have obtained.

Geography, as an abstract science, is perhaps as dry a study as any that exists, but combine it with history, and especially the military details of history, nothing can be more interesting. In reading the march of an army, the mere list of towns taken, and rivers passed, conveys but little for the mind to work upon, but the moment these hostilities are connected by history with the great features of warfare, with the narrative of bold pursuit, skilful retreat, active campaigning, renowned battles and sieges, a strongly marked picture is presented to the

mind, and the two studies become connected with an unceasing interest, which greatly assists the student's memory, and enables him to link events together in their proper order, which is of infinitely greater use than an abstract knowledge of mere dates and places.

But to get the best advantage from a blended study of history and geography it is absolutely necessary to read with good maps close at hand, and never to defer looking for the places mentioned from any laziness or unwillingness to quit the thread of the story. Each city or river should be immediately searched out as you come to it, and no feature of geography passed by without complete investigation. Sterne puts an humorous but admirable sketch of the value of geography for a military man into the mouth of his favourite character, Uncle Toby. "What business," added the Corporal triumphantly, "has a soldier to know anything about geography?" "Thou wouldest have said chronology, Trim," said my Uncle Toby; "for as to geography, 'tis of absolute use to him; he must be acquainted with every country and its boundaries, where his profession carries him; he should know every town, and city, and village, and hamlet, with the canals, and roads, and hollow ways which lead up to them. There is not a river or a rivulet that he passes, Trim, but he should be able at first sight to tell what is its name,

in what mountains it takes its rise, what is its course, how far it is navigable, where fordable, and where not. He should know the fertility of every valley as well as the hind that ploughs it; and be able to describe, or if it is required, to give an exact map of all the plains, and defiles, and forts, the acclivities, the woods and morasses through and by which his army is to march; he should know their produce, their plants, their minerals, their waters their animals, their seasons, their climates, their heat and cold, their inhabitants their customs, their language, their policy, and even their religion.

“Is it to be conceived, Corporal,” continued my Uncle Toby, rising up in his sentry-box as he began to warm in this part of his discourse, “how Marlboro’ could have marched his army from the banks of the Maes to Belburg; from Belburg to Kerpenord; (here the Corporal could sit no longer;) from Kerpenord, Trim, to Kalsaken; from Kalsaken to Neudorf; from Neudorf to Landenburg; from Landenburg to Mildenheim; from Mildenheim to Elchingen; from Elchingen to Gingen; from Gingen to Balmershofen; from Balmershofen to Schellenburg, where he broke in upon the enemy’s works, forced his passage over the Danube, crossed the Lech, pushed on his troops into the heart of the empire, marching at the head of them through Friburg, Hohenwert, and Schonevelt, to the plains of

Blenheim and Hochstedt? Great as he was, Corporal, he could not have advanced a step, or made one single day's march, without the aid of geography."

As Geography points out the local position of a country, and of its frontiers, its lakes and rivers, its ports and harbours, (if maritime,) the mountains which diversify its surface, and the great roads which traverse and intersect it, so the science termed Topography is the application of geography to all the more minute details of the features of a country, and is the principal guidance by which operations in the field are assisted and regulated.

Nothing is more important to an officer than the art of ascertaining the nature, and particular character, of the countries where he may be engaged in war; to know the advantages and disadvantages of camps and posts that it may be intended to occupy, and of those which the enemy may seek to gain.

It has been asserted that this art of acquiring topographical knowledge does not depend on art and diligence, but is conferred by nature; and that unless given us at our birth, the most assiduous practice and the clearest perspicuity will be insufficient for its acquisition. "This," says an eminent military writer, "is an illusion. We all possess it, more or less, in proportion to our quantity of intellect and

good sense. It is the natural offspring of these, though it may be greatly improved by application, and will be confirmed by experience."

An officer who follows his profession with spirit and devotedness, will in his travels, in his walks, and in the chase, be enabled to view many objects with a military eye. Hunting contributes exceedingly to familiarize us with the variety of countries, and in that respect teaches us many things connected with war, and thus may be considered as an useful auxiliary in acquiring topographical knowledge.

"The distinct knowledge of one country directs us to that of another," says an eminent author. "Those who are not habituated to such examination, have great difficulty in acquiring it; while others perceive at one view the extent of a plain, the height of a mountain, the size and limits of a valley, and all the circumstances of the different character and nature of the ground; for which they are wholly indebted to their former experience and observation."

In the book published for the use of the Cadets at the Military College, there are some excellent and plain instructions in reference to the duties and objects of officers employed in the examination of country with a view to military operations, which may be quoted here with advantage.

"Before an officer sets out to reconnoitre a country,

he should trace out, from the best map he can procure, its principal features, which will serve him as a guide in his progress, and enable him to connect the whole into one general plan.

“ His observations should be noted by written remarks, and by sketches. For this purpose he must be provided with a sketch-book, on the right-hand page of which he may give the appearance of the country by sketches ; and on the left, the remarks made on particular parts, with the names of towns, their distances asunder, &c., with proper references to the sketches. Two inches to a mile is a convenient scale for this purpose ; if, therefore, the sketch-book be about six inches wide, and the leaves divided by lines into three equal parts, each division will be one mile, which will be a sufficient scale for the purpose.

“ *Roads.*—The principal points to be attended to in examining roads for military purposes are, their direction ; the villages, territories, and rivers which they pass through ; the roads which cross them : their names, and the seasons in which they are in best condition, and if ever impassable ; their breadth, and whether it varies in different parts ; their bottoms, of what principally formed ; their ascents and descents, whether practicable for all kinds of carriages. The enclosures, whether hedges, ditches, walls, or fences. If the roads would require

repair for the transport of artillery and heavy wag-gons, observe if the necessary materials are at hand. If they pass over rivers, remark whether by bridges or fords; if through marshes, whether by causeways or otherwise. If two or more roads pursuing the same route, and by which different columns may march, join anywhere, or cross each other, it will be necessary to note whether the march of the columns will be hereby impeded. If they only cross each other, it will be sometimes possible, in hollow ways, to throw a temporary bridge across the deepest, by which one column may pass *over*, and the other *under* the bridge, without interrupting each other's march.

“ *Fords*.—A ford for cavalry ought not to be deeper than four feet, for infantry not more than three feet. Observe the banks of the ford at each side; their form, steepness, and height; their situation as to the turnings of the river. Their bottoms, whether passable for carriages. Observe marks by which the ford may be readily found; points from which it may be protected. Notice the rapidity of the water; whether its height be variable: its direction, its breadth, and the means by which the ford may be destroyed or rendered impassable. If a tide river, great care must be bestowed on ascertaining the different heights and periods of tide.

“ Lakes, marshes, and swamps. — Learn their cause ; if arising from a moist soil, the overflowings of rivers, or from springs. Observe their situation, and the appearance of the surrounding country ; the best means of crossing them.

“ If there are causeways over them, notice their breadth and condition ; if not, remark if causeways can be easily established, and whether the swamp can be drained, and whether it is passable at any season of the year. Observe the points from which the causeways can be defended against the passage of an enemy’s column. Learn whether or not the swamps are subject to fogs, and at what seasons.

“ Of woods and forests. — Remark their extent ; their situation, their thickness ; whether the trees are lofty or low ; whether there is much under-wood.

“ Observe if the different clumps form openings or passes, and their extent ; whether their sides are formed of thick wood or bush ; whether their breadth is uniform, or widest at particular points. Remark whether the ground of the forest be level or hilly, swampy or dry. Observe the nature and condition of the roads ; (according to the instructions already given as to roads ;) observe also the means the forests afford of intrenching, of making fascines, abbatis, &c. Attend to the face of the country

round the forest, whether cultivated fields or meadows; whether it affords positions, is intersected by rivulets, swamps, or ravines.

“ *Rivers.*—Learn in what country they arise, and where empty themselves; the nature of the countries they run through, and whether they belong to us or the enemy. Whether affected by tide, and to what extent, and what is the usual rise and fall.

“ Learn the extent to which they are navigable; and if they ever freeze over, whether strong enough to bear troops and carriages. Notice the quality of the water, its course, currents, depths, and breadths. The banks and the beds of the rivers. Observe the nature and number of the craft that navigate them, and the mills upon their banks, whether of wind or water. Visit the bridges and fords, and make the proper remarks on their nature and situation. Learn whether the rivers ever overflow their banks, and at what season, and whether or not this causes inundations. Observe the most favourable points for crossing, and the roads leading to these points; the turnings and windings of the rivers; the form of their peninsulas, and the most favourable situations for throwing over bridges. If there are any wharfs on the banks, observe what craft can lay alongside of them.

“ If there are islands in the rivers, note their size,

their banks, whether inhabited, cultivated, woody, or barren; and whether they command the channel.

“Observe the mountains and high grounds near the rivers; remark their distance from the banks, and the advantages, or disadvantages, which they offer. Learn what branches, or confluence of other rivers, there are either above, or below, the best situations for crossing. Examine the positions which the adjoining country affords an army to protect the passage of the river; and whether in a perpendicular or parallel direction; and the routes by which three or four columns may arrive at the place.

“*Cultivated lands.*—Notice their state of cultivation; their productions; their time of harvest. Learn what quantity of wheat, rye, barley, oats, or other grain they produce, over and above the necessary subsistence of the inhabitants. How much hay they yield per acre.

“*Bridges.*—Remark their situation, their length and breadth; the materials of which they are built; their strength, whether sufficient to bear artillery; the roads leading to them; their situation, as to the turnings of the river: their purpose; to connect towns or villages; the nature, direction, and breadth of the streets leading to them.

“Observe the country around, whether flat or hilly: study the best means of fortifying the bridge

head; and observe the best and most expeditious mode by which the bridge may be destroyed, if necessary.

“Mountains, Hills. — Amongst high mountains, such as the Alps, roads are very rare; it is seldom more than the valleys that are inhabited and accessible for troops; observe their slopes, if steep or rugged. Examine the positions, means of gaining the summits, and note the state of cultivation and general appearance of the valleys: the pasturage, forage, cottages, villages, castles, roads, paths, and passes. Distinguish the principal chains of hills and their direction; their relative heights, their communications, their strong points; whether practicable for cavalry and artillery.

“Forts, Redoubts. — Remark their form, whether ancient or modern; whether they are permanent or temporary, elevated or low; revetted or demi-revetted, with stone, brick, or turf; whether their ditches are wet or dry, palisaded, natural, or artificial. Observe their situation, the face of the adjacent country, whether they effectually command the passes, or protect the country intended. The defence they are capable of making in their present state, and the improvements of which they are susceptible.

“Villages. — Observe their situation; about what number of houses; whether any cross streets

or spaces; the nature of the adjacent land; the quality and quantity of their crops; their markets; their beasts of burthen; their flocks and herds, &c. The number of their ovens; quality of the water; barns, and stables. The situation of the church; the nature of the building and the graveyard, and inclosures. The wind and water-mills. Observe whether the village is surrounded by hedges, ditches, banks, or walls; whether it can be easily intrenched. The roads leading to it; and the face of the surrounding country.

*“ Positions.—*Every military position ought to possess decided advantages of situation, and ought to be commanded in no part of its front, flank, or rear. All commanding ground ought to be beyond the effective range of cannon. Among the principal objects to be attended to in the choice of a position are, first, the advantages of the ground; second, the supplies for the army; and, third, the communications with the rear. The front of a position should be intersected by rivers, ravines, or broken ground, or any other obstacles which can prevent the enemy advancing in order of battle, and oblige him to pass through defiles; on the other hand, a position becomes comparatively useless, when the front is so covered by obstacles, that the army cannot advance, or move out of its camp, when necessary; but no obstacles can be too great on the flanks. All ob-

stacles which cover a position, or passes which lead to it, should be within the range of the artillery.

“ In a flat country, where the ground does not afford commanding situations, a position chiefly depends on its being covered or protected by obstacles ; such as very thick woods, in which there are very few roads ; large rivulets which cannot be forded or passed without bridges ; narrow roads ; deep and broken ravines ; ground much intersected with hedges, ditches, &c. ; but it is essential that all these obstacles should be under the fire of the artillery. It is always dangerous to occupy a position, which has its rear so covered by swamps, crossed by rivers or ravines, &c., as to render the retreat of the army very difficult. The number of passes by which an army can retire, should be examined and secured.

“ The rivers, brooks, &c., in front of a position should not be too much depended upon, for a supply of water, as the enemy may cut them off. The ground for a camp should not be too much intersected by hedges, ditches, or ravines, which occasion great intervals in the line, and obstruct the communications.

“ In an offensive position, it is absolutely necessary that the army should not be too much confined by obstacles, but be at liberty to act in any direction ; while in a defensive position, the fewer accessible

points there are the better ; and the natural difficulties in front and on the flank may, if time permit, be increased by redoubts, entrenchments, abbatis, inundations, &c. The obstacles on the flanks should also be of such extent that they cannot be easily turned, without the enemy makes a very great circuit ; and consequently exposes his own flank, and weakens his line of communication.

“The want of wood, water, or other supplies absolutely necessary for an army, renders every other advantage of a position comparatively useless ; nor can a position be long tenable, if far removed from its depôts, and its intermediate posts not sufficiently secure from the attacks of an enemy.”

Whatever may have been said, and by men whose opinions are entitled to respect, as to the inutility of the dead languages for a military man, every one must at least acknowledge that some knowledge of Latin is of very great assistance towards the acquirement of those languages which are chiefly spoken in Europe.

Spanish, Italian, and French have a considerable quantity of Latin elements in their construction, and as regards the proper and correct acquirement of our own tongue, the Latin grammar is probably the best of all introductions to a good knowledge of English. The German language is spoken in so

large a portion of Europe, and especially those parts of Europe which have so often, unhappily for them, been destined to become the "Theatre of War," that it seems generally admitted to be a most useful point of education for military life. Many excellent military works have also been produced by German officers, and notwithstanding a little tendency to pedantry in some of them, yet they are usually full of information, and well worth the pains required to attain a knowledge of so rich and powerful a language.

The French language, though it may be considered as the most generally spoken throughout Europe, and that which carries the traveller furthest in most parts of the world, is certainly very discouraging to an English beginner who has never had his ear accustomed to any but his native tongue. So much depends on the pronunciation, the idiom is so peculiar, and there is so much difference between writing it and speaking it, that no wonder many young Englishmen, from mere shyness, avoid all attempt at conversing in French when opportunity offers, even though conscious of being tolerable proficient in its grammar and construction. The present facilities of going abroad, offer however, an easy and agreeable remedy for this difficulty, and experience has shown that a very few weeks passed entirely in a French family, or even in travelling in

parts of France where English is little spoken, will enable any one who will give his time and attention to the object, to express himself in French with quite sufficient fluency and readiness for all ordinary purposes.

The Spanish and Italian languages are so mainly grounded upon Latin and French, that except the pronunciation, (to obtain which a few lessons are eventually necessary from a competent native instructor,) they may either of them be acquired with the aid of good grammars and dictionaries in remote quarters, where the learner is entirely thrown upon his own resources and books for his progress, which, with a little patience at the commencement, will soon become so rapid as to repay him quickly and fully for his pains.

A young man is often discouraged in the acquisition of foreign languages by finding how little of what he has learned from grammar and reading, is available at first, for conversation on ordinary topics with foreigners; but experience soon shows him how easily he passes after a few weeks, nay even days, of familiar intercourse with the natives of any foreign land, from a theoretical to a more practical knowledge of their tongue.

It is a foolish reason against learning the language of any country in Europe that a British officer is not likely to be employed there on military service,

for whatever the visionary or mischievous promoters of the Peace Congress may endeavour to prove, no steady observer of the strange and unlooked for changes in the States of Europe during the last twenty years, can with any confidence look for long exemption from the evils of war in any of the continental nations and some acquaintance with the principal languages seems every day the more likely to be of service to military men. Without some knowledge of the language of the country which is the seat of war, an officer will be constantly liable to the most fatal and unexpected difficulties—he will be obliged to depend upon the chance and uncertainty of finding faithful interpreters on occasions of serious importance, not only to himself, but to the whole corps to which he belongs; he cannot stir a step without help; and is constantly liable to be deceived.

A very curious instance of the advantage of German, where its utility would never have been thought of, occurred in some of our recent wars in India. It was in the campaign of Caubul that several written communications were successfully made in the German language, Dost Mahommed, having no one about him who could interpret such as were intercepted, though he had persons perfectly competent to translate both French and Italian, in which the attempts at communication were at first made.

ESSAY XIX.

ON DISCIPLINE.

HE who aspires to the honour of commanding, ought to have been long and fully instructed how to obey. The best and wisest orders are generally given by those who have been accustomed to habits of obedience. The officer who is the most clear and the most precise in his commands, who is sure to be obeyed with the greatest promptitude and punctuality, is invariably he who has been found the most punctual and exact in executing the commands of others.

Marshal Berwick, the natural son of James II., who, on the ruin of his father's fortunes, transferred his services to his benefactor Louis XIV., and became one of the ablest and most experienced gene-

als of, a period abounding in eminent military characters, was especially remarkable for his power of organizing and bringing into a high state of discipline the French armies placed under his chief command, during no less than fifteen different campaigns in various parts of Europe.

Although he was on some occasions accused of undue severity in the exercise of his authority, yet we have it from good historical sources, that he was rather exact than severe, acting only with severity, when compelled to that course by a strong sense of duty and a fixed resolution to carry out the orders received from his Sovereign. It was always observed of him, that he was more indulgent to others than sparing of himself when it was a question of hardship and endurance, and the strictness of the system he enforced proceeded chiefly from a love of order and discipline, which he possessed in the highest degree, knowing the importance of the one, and the necessity of maintaining the other, in the command and management of armies. It was often said of him with truth, that he knew how to obey quite as well as how to command, qualities rarely united in the same person, but eminently conducive to the formation of a good officer, whether for the command of a single company or of a large army.

There are in military discipline certain things to

which sufficient attention is not always paid ; which some officers look upon as trivial, and turn into ridicule, as belonging only to the character of a military pedant, or martinet. It frequently happens, however, that points of no inconsiderable importance are included in this condemnation. There is nothing minute and trifling in war ; any negligence in the slightest things, insensibly leads to indifference in those of greater moment. It is no part of the business of him who obeys, to inquire into the motives, and the purpose of the orders given to him ; submission is his duty, and not examination : they who reason most are commonly found the most deficient in performing ; such characters are the cause of relaxation in matters of duty, and too often prepare the way for the destruction of discipline in the corps to which they belong.

It is not enough that the method of the discipline be good, and its principle well formed, unless it be maintained with inflexible regularity. A diminution in strict regard to military duty, will very soon reduce the best and bravest troops to the condition of the most inefficient and contemptible. Peace, that state which is the just end of all military exertion, may become an evil more to be dreaded than war itself, if the spirit of discipline is not maintained. The moment of a revival of hostilities is not the season to remedy corruption and degeneracy.

It is then too late, and the attempt is more likely to cause a mutiny than to remedy the evil. Subordination in the officers is the soul of discipline: for if these do not exhibit the most implicit obedience in executing the orders given to them, their example will very soon be followed by the soldiers, and, pervading the whole mass, will taint the very principle of military order.

But we cannot expect perfection in officers more than in other mortals, and it will sometimes happen that those who should know their duty better, appear to obey with too much indifference; a great many, even with repugnance, and without that regard to the general interest, by which alone their conduct ought to be regulated. On the other hand, some of those who command, mingle so much of pride and haughtiness in the manner of giving their orders, as to manifest an unworthy vanity in making others feel their superiority. Such men forget the intimate connexion between those who command, and those who are called upon to obey; as if good discipline did not impose duties of equal obligation on both.

Marshal Turenne, though the son of a sovereign prince, and grandson of the great William of Orange, was never above the detail of discipline. When holding the rank of captain, he was as assi-

duous to fulfil his duties, as when later in life he commanded the armies of France. He was in the habit of exercising his own troop diligently, and never availed himself of any of those pretexts which his high rank might have warranted, to relax his attention: he excelled in the art of governing his soldiers, even from his earliest youth; he spoke to them with kindness, reproved them with moderation, and corrected them with forbearance; he suffered among them no negligence or omission in their duty, no relaxation in the obedience which they were required to yield to their officers. He encouraged them to exactitude, to regularity, and to a brotherly regard for each other, of which he gave them an eminent example, by the interest that he took in whatever concerned them, and the liberality which he displayed in the whole of his intercourse with them.

We have an admirable exposition of the question of mere drilling being insufficient to form a good army in a despatch of Lord Wellington to his brother, Sir H. Wellesley, dated from Fuente de Guinaldo, May 14, 1812. In that paper he points out with his usual perspicuity, that the chain of responsibility must be brought down from its proper sources, and that, to form an effective body of troops, a great deal more is required in

the way of primary organization, than in the mere instruction in elementary evolutions, and the use of the firelock. He observes,

“In my opinion, those take an erroneous view of what an army is, if they suppose that well-drilled recruits are all that is required for it. Subordination and habits of obedience are more necessary than mechanical discipline acquired at the drill ; and these can be acquired by soldiers to any useful purpose, only in proportion as they have confidence in their officers ; and they cannot have confidence in officers who have no knowledge of their profession, even of that lowest part of it acquired at the drill, who have no subordination among themselves, and never obey an order. The plans for improving such an army should have for their first object the officers, and principally those belonging to the regiments, and it may be depended upon, that there would be no want of drill, or of that military expertness acquired at the drill, if habits of subordination and obedience, and some information, were given to the officers.

“I will go one step further, and express my doubts whether, to launch a number of well-drilled recruits into regiments, such as I have seen in the Spanish service, can ever answer any practical good purpose. The object of all drill must be to practise and form individuals to perform that which it is

thought expedient they should perform when part of a body before an enemy, under the command of their officers: and it is supposed that all of the body are equally, or nearly equally expert; and that, at all events, the officer cannot only order what is to be performed, but know whether the body under his command performs it well or ill. Is this the case in one of a hundred instances, in which recruits, well drilled, might be sent from a depôt to a Spanish company or regiment? Certainly not. The consequence is, that the well drilled recruit, in the day of action, is no better than the rabble with whom he is mixed up; and he either very soon forgets all that he has learnt for want of practice, or despises it as useless, as he finds that the boasters among whom he comes, have none of the acquirements which he has gained with so much trouble; or he despises the ignorance both of his officers and comrades, and has no confidence in either, or in himself. The money, then, which I should lay out in a depôt of recruits, I should, under present circumstances, consider as thrown away."

The object of true discipline is to inspire men with bravery, firmness, patience, and sentiments of honour; these are the qualities that render an army formidable. Such discipline differs widely from what is commonly, but improperly, called by that

name; and which consists in nothing more than a proficiency in evolutions and the use of arms. Not that an officer should be indifferent to any part of his profession; every branch of it is highly important. Practice and address in the use of arms are essential to a soldier. The nations who have been the most warlike, have at all times been the best trained to exercises, and the most dexterous in the management of their arms. It is, however, truly surprising that soldiers have in almost all ages been harassed with a variety of evolutions, of no use whatever in a day of battle; while at the same time it has been found so difficult to instruct them in what it is absolutely essential for them to know. We find in many authors who have written on the ancient tactics, accounts of an endless number of evolutions practised by the soldiers, which could be of no utility either as a preparation for battle, or in actual encounter with the enemy; and this error has prevailed to a surprising degree even in modern times.

Cæsar, in his campaign in Africa, after having forced the town of Zeta at the first onset, perceived, in the difficulty of his retreat to regain his camp, that his cohorts were often embarrassed in their movements, and that the cavalry had not done all that he expected from them. Far from questioning

the valour of his troops, he perceived that the occasion of his disappointment was in the defect of their exercise : and as this great man always acted on regular principles, he endeavoured to remedy the evil as soon as he had discovered it, by personally instructing his soldiers, (notwithstanding the variety of his other occupations,) in new exercises, and a new method of managing the *pilum* or javelin, of which each soldier carried two, in making use of it against the Numidians, whose manner of fighting so much differed from the Gauls, and from all other nations against whom he had hitherto waged war. Perceiving the terror caused by the first appearance of elephants, he caused some to be brought into his camp, to familiarize his soldiers to these animals, and to instruct them where to strike them. He made his cavalry engage them in mock encounters, in order to accustom the horses to their cries, to their smell, and to the sight of their unwieldy bulk. All these minute attentions were considered by Cæsar as essential ; well knowing how much the valour of the soldier depends upon the confidence which he has in his arms, and on his address and agility in managing them.

The tranquillity enjoyed in times of peace admits of ample opportunity for the important business of instructing officers, and keeping up the discipline and the

exercise of the soldiers. But is it sufficient that the troops should be practised in their manœuvres only ? ought they not also to know how to dig trenches, to make fascines, gabions, and, in short, to perform all the labours of the camp, as well as to construct all works of fortification of the lighter kind ?—these are duties which constantly occur in the course of a campaign ; and it is surely of the utmost importance that a soldier should be habituated beforehand to handle the spade, the pickaxe, the shovel, and the hatchet, with almost as much dexterity as his offensive weapons.

It is satisfactory to see a great improvement in some of these respects in the education of cadets at our Military Colleges. Instead of keeping them for hours at the details of drill with the firelock, these young men are now instructed in the practical, as well as the theoretical parts of fortification. Many of them join the regiment to which they are appointed, perfectly competent to lay out field works, and to direct and explain the actual manual labour required of fatigue parties and workmen if placed under their orders. Nay, to so useful an extent has this system of practical instruction been carried of late, that a large proportion of these young gentlemen are trained to the construction of rafts and pontoon bridges, in a manner which can scarcely be surpassed by the

corps especially destined to such duties and operations.

The duties of outposts, piquets, and patrols, are inculcated in almost every book of regulations that has been published, and certainly there is no kind of instruction or exercise more necessary than this ; for it is usually the first that is needed for the safety of an army when it takes the field. But it is to be regretted that officers in command of regiments cannot always be sufficiently persuaded of the value of such instruction. It is not uncommon to see a battalion exercising with a precision which is nearly perfection itself; but this very corps may be sadly deficient in the duties alluded to. One officer is afraid of making his men too loose, another is afraid of showing his own ignorance in matters where he has had perhaps but little experience. Another, again, who has seen much of science, and earned a high character in the field, will sometimes call such exercises " playing at soldiers," and affect to despise any imitation of what he has been so fortunate to practise in the presence of the enemy.

The merit, appearance, strength, and efficiency of a corps, depend much on the attention which has been paid to the drill and exercise of it: while on the other hand we may see troops, which have not had practice, quickly thrown into disorder, and that

disorder prevailing in spite of the most skilful command.

One cause of the great loss which our troops sustained in Germany, America, and the West Indies, during the Seven years' war, from sickness, and not from the enemy, was a neglect of military exercise. For though fighting is one part of a soldier's business, yet bearing fatigue and preserving health is another, and at least as essential. A campaign may pass without a battle, but not without long marches, fatigue, and exposure to bad weather : and if soldiers are not trained and inured to these casualties, they cannot support bodily exertion, and eventually become a burthen to the army in which they are serving.

An eminent army-physician, of the last century, speaking of the benefits to be derived to the soldier's health from habits of daily exercise, says :—

“ This is an object of the greatest importance, but unfortunately it is an object very seldom attended to, and appears indeed to be little regarded in most of the armies of modern Europe. The Romans, who owed more to the discipline of their armies than any other nation on earth, were extremely rigorous and persevering in their exercises. They practised their soldiers in every species of service that might occur, so that nothing at any time happened with which they were unacquainted.

Actual war was in reality a time of relaxation and amusement to the troops of this warlike people, who appeared to have been trained for the service of the field, as horses are for hunting or the course. The Romans were not only sensible of the advantages which these habits of exercise procured them in action, but had also the penetration to discover that they were eminently serviceable to the preservation of health. I remarked in America, that when the men were in the field, sometimes even complaining of hardship and fatigue, few were reported in the list of the sick : but when stationed in quarters, or encamped for any length of time in one place, the hospital was seen to fill rapidly. This observation was uniformly verified, as often as repeated."

"A soldier, notwithstanding he may have received the king's pay for twenty years or more, remains in some degree a recruit, till his body has been inured to fatigue, and prepared to bear without danger the effects of the climate in which he may be destined to serve. It would be reckoned presumptuous in me, to point out those exercises which might be proper for the forming of soldiers ; but every one knows that walking, running, wrestling, leaping, fencing, and swimming, are often called into actual use in the practice of war. These are such exercises likewise as excite emulation, and are practised with pleasure by the individual ; they harden the body, increase

the powers of the limbs, and by furnishing the officer with a view of their different degrees of activity, may often enable him to make use of his men to the best advantage on service. I may add in this place, that bathing will be extremely useful in most cases, in increasing the vigour and preserving the health of soldiers serving in warm climates. No doubt there will occur many cases in which it is improper: but in general, it may be employed with great benefit."

By arts like these

Laconia nurs'd of old her hardy sons ;

And Rome's unconquer'd legions urg'd their way,

Unhurt, through ev'ry toil, in ev'ry clime."

Perhaps the clearest and best definition of true discipline will be found in the short and well-expressed remarks of the Duke of Wellington, in his despatch of Sept. 8, 1809, to Marshal Beresford, in reference to the armies of Spain and Portugal. He says, "We are mistaken if we believe that what these armies require is discipline, properly so called. They want the habits and spirit of soldiers—the habits of command on one side, and of obedience upon the other; mutual confidence between officers and men: and above all, a determination in the superiors to obey the spirit of the orders they receive, let what will be the consequence, and the spirit to tell the true cause if they do not."

The security attendant on a long peace will some times weaken the martial character of a nation : and if a wise policy does not, by vigorous measures, prevent the military from falling into indolence and degeneracy, discipline is insensibly relaxed ; military exercises are gradually neglected ; and a nation, which may have been found every where victorious, becomes after a time averse from the profession of arms, and is at length so enervated that the state is left exposed to the danger of foreign invasion.

At the commencement of the last century, the Prussian monarchy rose up between the Oder and the Spree, and resisted almost the whole force of Europe united against it : and what were the means which it employed in its defence ? They were no other than the continual and unremitting practice of military exercises, a constant attention to everything connected with the art of war, and above all, the severest regard to discipline.

Every nation that possesses an acknowledged superiority in the military art, is respected in proportion to the degree of that superiority : but, as before observed, it is neither from the number nor the valour of the troops only, that victory must be expected. Good troops, which are well disciplined and well trained, are not so expensive to maintain as bad : and a moderate number inured to the

usages of war, and rendered confident by habits of discipline, march to certain victory; while a great army without solid principles of action, is often little better than a multitude, whose weakness is actually increased by their number. In short, there is no truth more evident, than that a state which is anxious to preserve peace, ought to make it one of its chief cares to form and prepare good troops, who may at all times be ready to take the field in perfect order and discipline.

A fine example of steadiness and resolution was shown at the battle of Blenheim (1704) by a British regiment of cavalry (the Carbineers) in the early part of the action, just after the great attack on Blenheim village, which, though our infantry could not force it, was eventually cut off as it were from the French line, by the occupation of the ground outside, and a large body of French infantry pent up within its enclosure, and rendered useless. "The Duke," says Kane, "having thus secured himself on that side, ordered Colonel Palmes with three squadrons to pass over the brook, who meeting no opposition, drew up at some distance from the marshy ground, and gave room for our lines to form behind him. The Duke followed Palmes; the mills were attacked, but those that were in them set them on fire, and made off. Both the cavalry and infantry, which the Duke kept with him (not above ten squadrons, and twelve

battalions,) passed over as well as they could, and formed as fast as they got over. Tallard all this while, as a man infatuated, stood gazing, without suffering either great or small shot to be fired at them ; only when he saw Palmes advanced towards him, he ordered five (some say seven) squadrons to march down and cut those three squadrons to pieces, and so return. The officer that commanded the French squadrons, as soon as he got clear of the line, ordered the squadrons on his right and left to edge outward, and then to wheel in upon the flanks of Palmes ; which Palmes perceiving, ordered Major Oldfield, who commanded his right squadron, and Major Creed, who commanded that on the left, to wheel outwards and charge the squadrons coming down upon them ; and not in the least doubting their beating them, ordered them, when they had done that, to wheel in upon the flanks of the others, while he at the same time would charge them in front. Accordingly everything succeeded, though with the loss of some brave men, and Major Creed among them ; so that these three squadrons drove their five, or seven, back to their army. This was the first action in the field, which took up some time, and gave the Duke an opportunity to form his lines. And now there was a fair plain, without hedge or ditch, for the cavalry on both sides to show their bravery, there being but few of the infantry to inter-

pose, and they drawn up separately from the horse. Tallard, seeing so many of his squadrons beat by three, was confounded, yet advanced with all his cavalry to charge the Duke, at which time he expected the troops in the village to have marched out and fallen on his rear; but the Duke having taken effectual means to prevent them, was now advancing with his squadrons to meet him," &c. &c.

Not to be too sparing of rewards, and to know how to exhibit punishments with advantage, are two very essential points, and the most powerful springs of discipline. The firmness which administers the government of an army, should be unshaken; but let severity be at all times tempered with justice and mercy. If you cannot induce soldiers to be fond of discipline, let them at least respect it, as a sacred principle which must not be violated; and the breach of which they are to consider themselves as obliged to punish in others, were they themselves the judges.

But is it, after all, so hard a task to teach a soldier the love of discipline? Make him to consider it as his first duty: he will soon cherish it as such, when he comes to be assured that his superiors notice his exactitude; when he finds his observance of it rewarded with distinction and preference; and especially when he sees, that if such conduct be honourable in an officer, it must surely be equally so in

the soldier ;—for though in all other classes of the community, an implicit obedience may be thought to weaken courage, yet in the military it tends, on the contrary, to elevate and strengthen it. Thus it is that discipline can form, even from those whose character has been vitiated and corrupted, a band of heroes ; while without this, the most accomplished general, with the greatest number of troops, can never flatter himself with possessing an *army*.

In Colonel Cathcart's faithful and well-told narrative of the events of the campaign of 1813 in Germany, after describing the deplorable situation in which Buonaparte left the unfortunate King of Saxony on the morning of his retreat from Leipzig, in October, he proceeds to give a striking account of the discipline of the victors. The Monarch (partly perhaps, from his helplessness) had been driven to break his former pledges to the Allies, and consequently had forfeited all claim for consideration on the part of his former friends ; the French were in full retreat, and the Russians and Prussians close upon their heels ; there was every probability of a terrible scene of pillage and licence. The Saxon battalion, left as a personal guard for the King of Saxony, would have been utterly powerless for protection to him or the townspeople, but the fine discipline of the victorious troops shone conspi-

cuous in their admirable forbearance on this occasion.

Colonel Cathcart's description is too interesting to be curtailed; he says, "About eleven o'clock in the morning, when the actual attack on the town had commenced on all sides, the Emperor Alexander was on horseback, near the old windmill, surrounded by his suite, and anxiously watching the progress of the troops. At that moment a flag of truce was brought to him, with a message from the King of Saxony, the purport of which was, a proposal to treat of a capitulation. The Emperor chose to receive the message publicly, and to answer it at once, in the hearing of all around him. It may be supposed that he was not inclined to give the enemy so favourable an opportunity to complete their escape, as a suspension of the attack, for the purpose of negotiating, would have afforded them: he said, with a distinct delivery, and in very good German, as the Germans that were present admitted: 'A victorious army in pursuit of a flying enemy was not to be arrested in its progress by any consideration for the preservation of the town. If the gates were immediately opened, the most strict discipline would be observed; but if not, he must continue his fire upon the town.' He added, 'As for your King, tell him he has broken his solemn engagement with me within these few months; I can therefore no longer respect or

place confidence in him ; but for every German who will join his countrymen in the liberation of Germany, he shall be received as a brother.' The Emperor sent General Toll, one of his aides-de-camp, who was himself a German by birth, to re-conduct the flag of truce, and make sure of the correct delivery of this answer to the King. While General Toll was executing his commission, and still in the King's apartment at Leipzig, he heard a brisk fire of musketry gaining ground on the town. He ran down stairs, and found some Prussians in possession of the end of the street, and skirmishing with part of the King's guard. He instantly ordered the guard to lay down their arms, and took measures with the Prussian commanding officer for the security of the King's person. Having ascertained that the town had been entered by force at several points, he hastened to communicate the intelligence to the Emperor, whom he found yet on the wind-mill hill.

“ Sacken, Bulow, and the Swedes, and Bening-sen's advance guard had forced an entrance into the town at various points, nearly at the same moment, though not without having to contend for some time against a strenuous resistance. Sacken and Langeron had been gallantly opposed by Regnier, and with difficulty had entered the gate of Halle, and the northern side of the town. In the attack on the

eastern side the Prince of Hesse Homburg was wounded, and his brigade failed in its first attempt to force an entrance for the army of the north: he was succeeded in the command by General Borstell, who gained a lodgment, but was still strenuously opposed. Beningsen also had gained the suburbs in his front, and was proceeding to the assault, when the panic of the French paralysed all their power of farther defence, or even inclination to resist, except in some few remote parts of the town and suburbs towards the river, where a desultory but animated skirmish was still kept up.

“No sooner had General Toll made his report, than the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia rode down the hill, and placing themselves at the head of their guards, who were already at the gates, they entered the town about noon, and were no less anxious, by their presence and the good discipline of their reserve, to prevent those excesses that almost invariably follow the capture of a town by assault, than eager to ascertain and to secure the prize that had fallen into their hands. At the entrance of the town, the Emperor and the King had to force their way through streets that were crowded with the dejected and disarmed prisoners, the wounded, and the inhabitants, who (some in consternation and to propitiate the victors, others in honest exultation at their deliverance) came out into the streets, and rent the


air with their cheers and shouts of ‘ Vivat Alexander ? ’ ‘ Vivat der König von Preussen.’

“ As we passed the house in which the King of Saxony had taken up his abode, the Saxon guard was still there, formed on its post, with arms reversed. The King, with the few members of his court who were with him, had come down to the street, and was standing on the steps of his house ; but the Emperor passed by him without notice, and rode on through the market-place, to the gate of Mark Ranstadt. Finding that exit completely impassable, and learning that every possibility of the farther retreat of the French had been effectually cut off, he returned, and took up his station in the centre of the great market-place. A battalion of the Russian guard was placed for the protection and custody of the royal prisoners : and the proper officers of the several departments were charged, under the Emperor’s immediate superintendence, who sat there on horseback, to secure all arms and military stores, to re-establish order, and to prevent plunder or excess of any kind. The victorious troops of various nations, who had entered the town first, and who, from their natural excitement, might have been less manageable, were ordered, by virtue of the supreme authority which on that occasion he did not hesitate to assume, to withdraw, and a regular Russian garrison and commandant were immediately appointed

to relieve them. The promptitude, good order, and complete success with which these arrangements were made and carried into effect, exceed perhaps any triumph of discipline recorded in history, when towns have been taken by assault, and do equal credit to the heads and hearts of the Sovereigns, and the Commanders of their armies, by whom an event which must always be most critical and perilous, was accomplished, and brought to so happy an issue."

Perhaps one of the most remarkable instances of what discipline will accomplish, may be found in the march of the Forty-third regiment from Frederickton in New Brunswick in the depth of the winter of 1837, when their services were required for the disturbances in Canada. Their course lay up the river St. John for one hundred and eighty miles, then across a wild and desolate district to St. André on the south bank of the St. Lawrence, and along the shore of that river to Point Levi opposite Quebec, being in all near four hundred miles.

This wonderful journey was accomplished in eighteen days, from December the 11th to December the 28th, with the thermometer generally below zero, without casualty, except one man left behind, who afterwards rejoined, (the total strength being near four hundred rank and file,) owing to



the excellent arrangements of the lamented Colonel Booth, the attention and zeal of the officers, the confidence of the men in them, and their undaunted spirit under hardships which were apparently insuperable.

The first part of the journey was performed in sledges drawn by two horses, and each containing from six to eight soldiers; the six companies following each other at a day's interval from station to station. The Aristook river was crossed by lashing two canoes together as a floating bridge; but great impediments and difficulties were encountered here from the floating ice hurried down the rapid stream in large pieces.

From this dangerous ferry their way led through the forest, by a very rough track, to the Grand Falls of the St. John, up which river they proceeded on the ice to "Herbert's," in Madawaska, about thirty-five miles; the rough uneasy motion of the sleighs over the broken surface was compared to the constant pitching of a boat in a short sea. This was the sixth day, and the whole distance now performed was near one hundred and seventy miles; the cold so intense that the men were obliged frequently to run by the side of their sledges, and several were, notwithstanding, frost bitten; the wind was so high, and the snow fell so thick, that

the fourth company was unable, with every endeavour, to accomplish its proper distance, but fortunately found shelter in some French settlers' huts.

The forest tracks had now become so bad, that the sleighs were no longer of much service, and the deep snow and heavy clothing caused severe fatigue. Though a supply of snow shoes had been issued before the march, the men unfortunately had not been trained to the use of them, and did not avail themselves of them, with the exception of one company, which consequently performed its march much easier.

Great as were the hardships of the day, the discomfort of the log camps at night gave the weary soldiers but little enjoyment of rest. These camps, or rather huts, were formed of newly-felled trees, very low, with a small door to creep in at, and the roof made with openings for the escape of the smoke. The large fires which were necessary in the huts filled them with a resinous smoke, of so suffocating a nature, that it could only be endured by lying flat on the ground; and many of the soldiers preferred sitting all night by the guard fires to attempting any repose in these wretched contrivances.

It was now the 18th of December, and as the march proceeded, the weather became, if possible, worse; the road being a succession of hill and dale,

the men made but slow progress through the snow, and great difficulty was found in dragging forward the sleighs with the provisions and stores, which the horses could no longer accomplish without assistance at the hills.

It was the 22nd of December, when the first company reached St. André on the bank of the St. Lawrence, and some delay here arose from its being advisable to close up the rear and march in stronger detachments, on account of the unsettled state of the country.

Accordingly grand divisions (two companies each) were now formed, and instead of the sleighs, carriages were employed, in which the leading division arrived on the 28th at Port Levi, opposite Quebec, having performed this long and harassing march of nearly four hundred miles under hindrances and hardships beyond description, within the space of eighteen days.

Yet so little was their efficiency impaired by what they had undergone, that they were found perfectly available for service, and actually marched again from Quebec within a week's time for Chambly and the disturbed districts, to assist in finally quelling the insurrection.

A deplorable contrast to this instance of the preservation of troops, under the severest effects of climate, by the maintenance of a well-

DISCIPLINE.

established discipline, will be seen in the following extract from the "National," a French newspaper, where an account is given by an eye-witness of the sufferings and disorder of the army led against the city of Constantine by Marshal Clauzel, an officer who gained a reputation in the Peninsular war, by his management of the retreat of Marmont's army, after their defeat by Lord Wellington at Salamanca. The numbers of the army employed on the expedition against Constantine, the spirit shown by their officers, (it was here that Changarnier distinguished himself,) and the bravery of the men, would easily have triumphed over all the difficulties of the road, the badness of the weather, and the hostility of the Arabs, had they but been held together by a firm and steady bond of discipline, but from this one defect, all their exertions and sufferings were thrown away, and they came back a mere mob, worn down with want and fatigue.

Though this account is written in a very rambling, careless style, it is best to give it in the writer's own words, as he wrote from the scene itself, and evidently under strong impressions from what he had witnessed.

"Bona, Dec. 1.

"The steamer Chimera, which is conveying to France the intelligence of our disastrous expedition

against Constantine, will also bring you this letter, which has been written under the impression of the disasters of our poor army.

“The journals must have informed you that the advanced guard, under the orders of General de Rigny, had left Bona on the 8th. On the 13th the army commenced its march. We all remarked that there was very little order in the disposition of our columns, much confusion in the convoys, very few means of transport, such as waggons or beasts of burden, but particularly a scanty supply of provisions. Imagine only fifteen days’ rations to undertake an expedition forty leagues into the interior, in an unexplored country, and for the conquest of a city whose resources and state of defence were completely unknown.

“In the evening of the 14th the bad weather began. A very cold wind set in from the north-west, which was soon followed by heavy rain, accompanied with hail and snow; in a few hours we were up to our knees in the mud. These were the first fatigues our troops had to encounter.

“Notwithstanding this sad prospect, we continued our march, and on the 16th the army, which had already left behind one hundred and sixty stragglers, arrived at the camp of ‘Clausel,’ at the distance of about twenty miles from Bona. The bad state of the roads, and the rain, detained for a

short time a part of the expedition in that camp, which had been selected by the Marshal as the point of departure. After a great deal of hardship, the army reached, on the 18th, the camp of Guelma, distant about seventy miles from Bona. We then only had provisions for ten days.

“ In the evening of the 17th an excessive degree of coldness succeeded to the rain, hail at intervals, sometimes snow—such was the state of the weather. It was not possible to commence the march before the 19th, and on the 20th all the soldiers had quitted the camp. Up to this time the army had encountered no obstacle, excepting what arose from the inclemency of the weather. Indeed, tribes of natives here and there approached the troops, bringing with them provisions, and promising to remain completely inoffensive. On the 20th and 21st the army marched, without meeting an enemy, or discovering any trace of habitation or vegetation; it was not even possible to get wood with which to make a fire and boil the soldiers’ soup. On the evening of the 21st the army bivouacked at the opening of the defile of Mansour, about twenty miles distant from the camp of Guelma, and consequently one hundred and ten miles from Bona (upwards of thirty leagues).

“ On the 23rd the army penetrated into the defile. All traces of the road were now lost. The mud was

frightful, the waggons every moment sinking in it ; and the surface was so undulated that the troops could not see further than ten feet before them. It was here for the first time that a detachment of about four hundred Arabs made their appearance, and began to fire upon the soldiers on our flanks, decapitating all who became separated from the corps. The too great distance of the columns from each other, the difficulty experienced in marching over ground which yielded at each step, and the cowardly conduct of a General Officer, were the first causes of the disaster.

“This General, a man of fashion, and not of war, affrighted at the sight of this destructive conflict, abandoned his position. Quitting the head of his brigade, he advanced to the *ambulance*, (moving military hospital,) crying out that the army was being massacred ; that Achmet was coming up with his troops, and that it was necessary to return ; observing, to all who chose to listen to him, that the Marshal had proved himself incapable. In an instant the brigade charged with the escort of the convoy, which consisted of fifty waggons, a great number of mules and horses, carrying with them 70,000 rations, and the *ambulance* loaded with the sick and wounded, was thrown into disorder. The Arabs fell upon the convoy, massacred the men without mercy, pillaged the waggon, and thus deprived the army of its last re-

source. This took place at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 22nd. From that moment the army was compromised. To return was impossible. The distance from the position then occupied by the army to Bona was thirty-five leagues, and to Constantine only five leagues. Jussuf, too, had told us that the people were waiting impatiently at Constantine to deliver over to us the keys of the city. The army continued its march with no more provisions than what each soldier carried with him,—that is to say, four days' portion.

“ We will here interrupt the regular course of this narrative, in order to recur to the case of the General who had fled from his post. When summoned before the Marshal, he flung himself at his feet, supplicated him not to notice his conduct in the order of the day, and to afford him an opportunity of seeking death in face of the enemy. ‘ Sir,’ replied the Marshal, ‘ you gained your *epaulettes* in the drawing-room: that is still your proper place, and not the army, You shall be mentioned with dishonour before the whole army, in to-morrow’s order of the day. Retire.’

“ On leaving the Marshal’s presence, Colonel Boyer said to this officer, ‘ Go and let the enemy kill you, or blow your own brains out.’ This wretched individual, incapable of any courageous act, went in search of M. Melcion d’Arc, and persuaded him to

intercede with the Marshal in his favour. 'At your solicitation,' said the Marshal, 'the name of the infamous poltroon shall not be given in full length in the order of the day;' and in point of fact the order of the day which I happen to have read only contains the following announcement:—
'I am happy to be able to state, that in this struggle against the elements only one man has been guilty of pusillanimity and cowardice.'

"The army consumed thirty hours in passing the defile; on the evening of the 23rd all the troops had effected the passage of the Iron Key. The army then bivouacked. The troops, worn out with fatigue, enjoyed a short repose. On awakening, the soldiers were much astonished to find their coverlids more than usually heavy. The snow had fallen during the time the soldiers slept, and lay upon the ground to the depth of a foot. Nearly sixty soldiers were discovered to be dead from cold. Even the horses fell victims to the inclemency of the weather, and were cut up by the soldiers for food.

"On the morning of the 24th the promised city was observable, and the troops felt fresh vigour at the sight. Success was considered to be so certain, that the order of the day indicated the manner in which the entry into the city was to be made, and the precautions which were to be observed for the preservation of property. To reach it several fords,

where the water reached up to the horses' bellies, had to be passed.

“On the evening of the 23rd, all the necessary positions were taken in view of the city. In order to reconnoitre the gates, a company of Sappers, with artillery, went round the walls under a shower of balls. Insults uttered in French—shouts at the fall of every soldier—such was the reception we met with from the inhabitants of Constantine. This city is large, fine, and completely fortified. It is defended by nature on one side, where projecting rocks, surmounted by a strong and well-built wall, render it impregnable; on the other side, a large and deep river serves as a fosse to it. A stone bridge placed over this river had been destroyed. The city is commanded by a height to the left, of a very rapid ascent; and the ground was so soaked with rain that it required forty-eight horses to raise a twelve-pounder (a six-inch howitzer,) intended to be used to effect a breach. From this height the whole interior of the city was observable; it is, like Algiers, built in the form of an amphitheatre, but six or eight times larger; houses with roofs of tiles—in short, a city quite in the European style.

“The Marshal immediately perceived that a regular siege was necessary, and that the force he had with him was far from being sufficient; but before retiring he was anxious to make an attempt to carry the place by stratagem.

“A part of the infantry swam across the river; and in the night Colonel Duvivier burst open the gate at the head of a battalion, and carried the Faubourg. It was then thought that the troops would enter the city immediately; but a second enclosure was observed; it was only the barrier which had been passed, and it became necessary to retrograde. In this *coup de main*, which did not last an hour, 120 men were killed. General Trezel had his neck pierced through by a shot. Colonel Duvivier received two shots in his face, which proved mortal.

“On the 26th the number of the wounded, and sick especially, increased in a frightful degree, and arrangements were made for retreating. The regiment of Chasseurs formed the van. In the morning of the 27th the Arabs, seeing our manœuvre, came and massacred the unfortunate wounded soldiers, who were left at their mercy. Become more bold, the Arabs approached our sharp-shooters, and, seizing them by their belts, flung them down the precipices. Every moment the troops were obliged to halt, to form squares, and sustain perpetual attacks. For twenty-four hours the troops had not a regular supply even of horse-flesh; and the provisions which they had carried with them were almost entirely consumed.

“The waggons, full of ammunition, were left behind, and plundered by the Arabs. On this cir-

cumstance being known, a great confusion took place in our ranks. The 2nd Light Infantry, then formed into a square, bore alone the fire of the enemy, and thus saved the remains of the army. From that moment (27th at noon) until the 28th in the evening, when the army re-entered the camp of Guelma, it was no longer a retreat, it was a real and complete rout.

“All those who were unable to follow were mercilessly left behind; the wounded were likewise abandoned. Captain Pexoni, seeing a poor soldier overcome by fatigue, asked him if he had not sufficient strength to proceed? ‘Captain,’ he replied, ‘in an instant my head will be cut off; but take my cartridges, I would be sorry the enemy had them to fire against you.’ Astonished at so much courage, the Captain alighted from his horse, placed the poor devil on it, and brought him to the camp of Gulema, having walked a distance of seven leagues on foot, holding his horse by the bridle.

“On the 29th the army reached the camp of Clauzel, and re-entered Bona on the 30th.

“The Marshal re-entered Bona at the head of 1,200 men only, and the greater part of these were ill, or suffering under extreme fatigue and hunger. The remainder (or rather the greater part) had died on the road, been taken prisoners, or left at Guelma. It is also stated that almost the whole of the artillery

and baggage were abandoned to the enemy, who from time to time attacked the army in its retreat."

Such were the lamentable results of want of discipline in an army of unquestioned courage and bravery.

ESSAY XIX.

• CONFIDENCE OF THE SOLDIERS.

SAGACITY and foresight in an officer naturally gain the confidence of all those who are under his command ; and this confidence establishes a conviction in their minds of the wisdom and judgment of his plans, which they are consequently ready to execute with zeal and alacrity.

The confidence and the esteem of the soldiers are also ensured to their officers by kindness, and by anticipating and providing for their wants. The greatest generals have been indebted for a part of their fame to this confidence of their troops.

Though soldiers sometimes calculate rather upon the good fortune than the actual ability of their com-

mander, yet there are always some, among the most experienced of them, who exercise their judgment pretty freely upon the conduct of their officers. In that celebrated campaign of Turenne, by which he made the conquest of Franche Comté, one of his encampments was formed not far from Strasburg, and the whole army, expecting to await there the arrival of the enemy, worked with incessant labour at the formation of the entrenchments. Turenne riding along the lines, observed one old soldier who, different from his active companions, appeared to work with no energy. Turenne, whose manner was familiar with his veterans, asked him quietly the reason of his idleness. "Because, Monseigneur," replied the soldier smiling, "you will not remain here long." Turenne, struck with the sagacity of this man, made him a present, enjoined him to keep his own counsel, and not long afterwards took occasion to promote him.

Nothing proves more forcibly the influence which a great reputation has on common minds, than the exclamation which Cæsar used when he was crossing a branch of the sea between Brundisium and Dyrrachium. He embarked by night in the habit of a slave, and lay on the deck like an ordinary passenger. As they were sailing down the river Annus, a violent storm arose, which quite overcame the

resolution of the pilot, who gave orders to put back : this however Cæsar would not permit : but, discovering himself, and taking the astonished pilot by the hand, bade him boldly go on and fear nothing, " What hast thou to dread ?" cried he, " thou carriest Cæsar and his fortunes."

The opinion formed by an officer is naturally still more just than that of the soldier, as it is the result of superior knowledge. He examines events in detail, and bestows his confidence only on the sagacity and skill which have a right to require it.

Of all the generals that have ever lived, few knew better how to gain the confidence and the love of both officers and soldiers than Hannibal. It cannot but excite our utmost astonishment when we consider that he was, during seventeen years of war, at the head of an army composed of so many nations speaking different languages, leading them to the most dangerous enterprises, without having once been exposed to the danger of assassination, and without a single instance of a soldier having attempted to betray him. As he was a strict disciplinarian, this seems to prove that the confidence of the soldiers is not to be acquired by too much favour and indulgence ; but rather by impartiality and justice combined with a rigid conformity to the rules of military discipline,

The miseries and privations which usually accompany a long siege are amongst the hardest and

severest of a soldier's trials ; nor is it a light aggravation of them that he sees the sufferings of the wretched inhabitants by whom he is surrounded, and whose clamour and anxiety for surrender, raise in his mind a similar tendency to discontent and murmuring against the determination of the authorities to hold out to the last. Watson, describing the siege of Leyden, in his History of Philip II., gives a remarkable instance of the restoration of confidence under such circumstances, entirely owing to the noble spirit of the chief magistrate of the town. He thus narrates the matter :—

“ By one of the forts called Lammen, the besieged having been deprived of the benefit of pasturing their cattle in the neighbouring meadows, they sallied out with great fury upon the Spaniards, and almost got possession of the fort ; but after an obstinate and bloody contest, they were at last obliged to retire. The Spaniards fortified themselves in that station more strongly than before, and the besieged now despaired of being able, either in that, or any other quarter, to remove them to a greater distance from the city. Instead of this, they apprehended daily their nearer approach to it, and expected that they would soon open their batteries, in order to prepare for taking it by storm. This belief served to quicken the inhabitants, and the women as well as the men were employed day and night,

without ceasing, in strengthening the fortifications. An account was taken of the stock of provisions within the town, and in order to make it hold out as long as possible, they began to husband it betimes. They were perpetually exhorting and animating each other, and expatiating upon the cruelty and perfidy of the Spaniards, and the unworthy fate of the people of Zutphen, Haerlem, and other places, who had trusted to their faith and mercy. When they were solicited to return to their allegiance by Lannoy, De Ligne, and other natives of the Low Countries, they made answer in the words of a Latin poet—

‘*Fistula dulce canit volucrem dum decipit auceps.*’

“ To other letters, in which they were desired to reflect on the misery to which they must ere long be reduced, they replied, that they had, upon the most mature consideration, resolved rather to die of hunger, or to perish with their wives and children in the flames of the city, kindled by their own hands, than submit to the tyranny of the Spaniards.

“ That misery which, during the first two months of the siege, existed only in idea, was at last realized. Their whole stock of ordinary provisions being consumed, they were obliged to have recourse to the flesh of dogs and horses. Great numbers died of want, and many by the use of this unnatural food. The resolution of the people at length began to fail,

and they now believed their present calamities to be superior even to those they should experience under the Spanish government. Some of them conceived a design to deliver up the town, and formed a secret association for that purpose. But their plot being detected, means were taken to prevent them from putting it in execution. A great number of people having come one day in a tumultuous manner to a magistrate whose name was Adrian, exclaiming that he ought either to give them food, or deliver the town into the hands of the enemy, 'I have solemnly sworn,' he replied, 'that I will never surrender myself, or my fellow-citizens, to the cruel and perfidious Spaniard; and I will sooner die than violate my oath. I have no food, else I would give it you. But if my death can be of use to you take, tear me in pieces, and devour me; I shall die with satisfaction if I know that by my death I shall for one moment relieve you from your direful necessity.' This noble appeal was irresistible, and they returned to their duties and posts with renewed spirit, which was eventually rewarded by success."

To give an instance of a directly contrary feeling. At the siege of Barcelona in 1641 a sudden case of panic occurred, which shows how much must always depend, even in the very hour of success, upon the confidence of the soldier in his officer, and how impossible it must ever be to depend on the issue of

the best concerted scheme when that confidence is not sufficient to preserve the troops from the fatal and sudden influence of panic. Mr. Dunlop, in his "Memoirs of Spain," thus describes the occurrence. He says,—

"Nor were the citizens of Barcelona remiss on their part in providing for defence. Their care was chiefly directed to the succour and reinforcement of Monjuich, the command of which was confided to a French officer named D'Aubigné. Josef Margarit occupied Montserrat and other passes in the rear of the royal army, in order to prevent further supplies from reaching it; and the deputy Tamarit, who had escaped from the disasters at Martorell, commanded in the city. As soon as the hated Castilians were descried from its walls, he harangued the citizens, extolling their strength, and depreciating the power of the enemy. As had been arranged, the Spanish troops began to ascend Monjuich, and some skirmishing commenced on the slope and skirts of the hill, in the course of which Lord Tyrone was killed. The Duke of Saint George, one of the bravest and most popular young noblemen in the Spanish service, from the plain below, gallantly supported the ascending party, and was mortally wounded at the head of his troops, in a skirmish with some French cavalry which came out from

the town to reconnoitre. Nevertheless, the Spaniards, though many of them were slain by discharges of artillery directed from the summit of Monjuich, gradually ascended the hill. and some had nearly reached the eminence. The fort was now closely surrounded by the Castilian banners, and the garrison, alarmed for the event, made signals, as previously concerted, to the city for succour. Every inhabitant of Barcelona showed himself eager to be the first who should march to the relief of the fortress, and a chosen band of 2,000 musketeers was promptly despatched by a subterranean passage which communicated between the city and Monjuich. Torrecusa, Philip the Fourth's General, encouraged his men as much as possible; but though they were now immediately below the walls of the fort, they could not attack or scale it, for want of ladders, and other necessary implements, with which they were altogether unprovided. Torrecusa despatched repeated messages to the Marquis Xeli, General of artillery, to supply him with these essential articles; but the troops meanwhile, in waiting for them, remained exposed to the batteries of the fortress. While in this dilemma, and while the Castilian soldiers yet stood firm, though very ready for flight, a Catalonian serjeant called out from the ramparts that '*they ran.*' At this cry, a small party rushed impetuously from the fort, and carried all be-

fore them. Believing that the whole garrison was falling on them, the Spaniards at the top, throwing away their arms, hurried down the declivity of the mountain ; and in their rapid flight overwhelmed or bore along with them their comrades who were stationed further down the hill. The officers, losing all authority, could no longer restrain them, and the confusion became inextricable. The whole garrison of Monjuich then rushed out, and slew the Castilian soldiers in their flight, almost without resistance. The Marques of Torrecusa, seeing the total discomfiture of his men, and hearing, at the same time, that his son, the Duke of St. George, was mortally wounded, cast away, in a transport of despair, the ensign of command ; and, indeed, no orders which he issued would have been now obeyed."

Distance and reserve are by no means necessary in communication with soldiers. They readily distinguish between the officer who tries to court popularity with them by affectation of familiar manners, and him who from natural frankness and kindness of character, shows a desire to enter into their interests, and become acquainted with their habits and disposition—in short, who treats them as comrades in good or bad fortune, and who is as ready to share and alleviate their distresses and sufferings as to lead them to battle. It was this peculiar and rare quality

which obtained for the unfortunate Prince Charles Edward such an extraordinary ascendancy over the minds of those who gallantly devoted themselves to his service in his bold attempt to recover the throne of his ancestors—an attempt, which however wild it may seem to us at this distance of time, yet certainly created such a panic in London when the news arrived of his having reached Derby, that before the evening not a horse could be had for hire in all London, so many of the highest families had fled post-haste into the country to escape the expected attack of the Scots. A very popular writer, imbued with high admiration of the Prince and his cause, observes, “The more highly, however, the magnanimous devotion of the Scots to the descendant and representative of so many of their kings deserves due commendation, the more gratifying is it to know that the conduct of Charles throughout this dark period of his life was not unworthy of so rare a display of affection and fidelity. We have seen how the magic of his manners had gained for him the people and the soldiery throughout the whole war, not only during the flood-tide of his fortunes, but also during the reverses that ensued after the ill-judged retreat from Derby. The love which he manifested on every occasion for the country of his ancestors ; his attachment to its customs ; the per-

sonal courage with which he encountered every new danger ; the cheerful temper with which the descendant of so many kings endured the unwonted hardships of a military life ; the irresistible attraction of his manners, set off as they were by a remarkably handsome person ; his facility of address ; his condescension to the meanest of his followers ; the boldness and humanity with which he hazarded his own life unhesitatingly to preserve that of his soldiers—all this had not failed to produce a powerful impression on minds predisposed by a sense of duty to venerate the son of their king ; and that respect which, had he been less amiable, would not have been withheld from him, answered the character of zeal, of devotion, such as generous minds alone can feel when love is measured by the standard of enthusiasm.”

But it is not always a chivalrous character that attracts the soldier's confidence. Lord Wharncliffe, in a note on his translation of Guizot's *Memoirs of General Monk*, mentions the remarkable confidence which the soldiers who served under his command invariably felt in his courage and judgment. He observes,—

“ It is certain that Monk possessed in a remarkable degree that power of securing the attachment of the soldiers which is the attribute of all great commanders. Carte, in his life of Ormond, calls Monk

the most beloved by the soldiers of any officer in the army. And Lord Byron, his commanding officer at the action near Nantwich, in 1644, describes his arrival as adding great alacrity to the soldiers; and again, when he mentions the rout of his old regiment, adds, "though they had their beloved Colonel Monk at the head of them." In fact, as Price his Chaplain says of him, "the soldiers did generally love him, and it was to their general affection and confidence that he owed that power of control which he afterwards exercised over his army under the most critical circumstances, and without which he must then have failed."

Severe and even barbarous as he sometimes showed himself in the maintenance of discipline, Frederic the Great had the art of acquiring the devotion of his soldiers in a remarkable degree. It came to his knowledge on some occasion that a corporal of his regiment of guards, a fine young fellow, wore a watch-chain suspended from a leaden ball, merely from a wish to appear consequential. Frederic, desiring to amuse himself at the expense of the fellow's vanity, accosted the corporal one day on the parade. "Corporal," said he, "you must be a prudent fellow to have saved a watch out of your pay." "I flatter myself that I am brave, Sire," replied the man; "the watch is of little conse-

quence." The King, taking out a watch set with diamonds, said, " My watch points at five. How much is yours ?" Shame and confusion at first appeared on the corporal's face : at length he drew out his bullet, and answered with a firm voice, " My watch, Sire, shows me neither five nor six, but it tells me that I ought to be ready, at every hour, to die for your majesty." The King replied, " In order that you may daily see one of those hours at which you are to die for me, take this watch ;" and presented him with his own.

After the action near Breslaw, in Silesia, between the Prussians and the Austrians, which preceded the battle of Lissa, and before the two armies met in this latter contest, a French soldier in Frederic's service, who had just deserted, was stopped and conducted to the King. " Why did you leave me ?" said Frederic. " Because," answered the soldier, " your affairs are too desperate." " Well," replied the King, " go back to your colours. We shall have another battle soon ; and if I lose it, come and find me out, and you and I will desert together."

By such instances of occasional condescension and lenity did Frederic study to acquire the confidence of his soldiers, and secure their exertions in gaining those glorious victories which have immortalised his name.

Zieten, his famous general, possessed also the happy talent of encouraging the disheartened. He was aware that the inaction and languor of camps are apt to give birth to discontent, and that in such situations the distresses of want and hunger are felt with double severity by the troops. To prevent or mitigate such murmurs, he would often visit the regiments in camp, and invite the soldiers to come out of their tents to speak to him. "Well, comrades," he would say, "what are you doing there?" As soon as his voice was heard, they would instantly appear, and cry out, "Long live our good father Zieten!" "Well, and how do things go on with you?" he would add. If they should answer, "Bad enough," he was nevertheless able to apply a word of comfort: "Take courage," he would reply, "if things go ill to-day, they may be better to-morrow." This frank benevolence of disposition, which extended itself indiscriminately to all ranks of the service, had gained him the respect and confidence of the whole army to such a degree, that with one accord the soldiers had no other name for him than that of Father.

It is said that the venerable Marshal Radetsky adopts very much the same habits and manners with the Austrian troops whom he has commanded

under such great difficulties, and finally led to such signal and complete success.

It is natural enough that the confidence of the soldier should be commanded by those who have led them to victory and success, and whose courage they have themselves seen hard tried in the field ; but it is not only by great leaders of high military rank and renown that the soldier's confidence is to be acquired. On occasions of emergency, and unexpected hardship or peril, British soldiers will always turn to their officer, no matter what his rank, and how little his experience, as the guide and support to which their habits of discipline have taught them to look. If they see that he flinches from no responsibility, that his countenance is firm, his eye steady, and his voice unfaltering, that his concern is nothing for himself, but all for them ; in short, that his sense of duty has absorbed all other feelings, they become inspired by a similar spirit, and are capable of facing danger and overcoming difficulties, which under other circumstances would overwhelm them with terror and dismay.

A striking example of this was afforded, not many years ago, on occasion of an awful storm at the Cape of Good Hope, where the second battalion of the 91st regiment, entirely composed of young soldiers, with a company of the 27th Regiment and some

Cape Rifles, were wrecked in the Abercrombie Robinson, transport, under circumstances so desperate, that nothing probably but the conduct of a captain of the regiment who had been left in command, (the senior officers having been ordered on shore to prepare for the disembarkation of the battalion,) could have prevented a fearful loss of life ; instead of which, every soul on board was saved from destruction, by the order and steadiness which his calm and undaunted conduct enabled him to maintain, not only among the soldiers under his command, but even among a crowd of soldiers' wives and children embarked in the transport, whose alarm and despair would, under other circumstances, have become ungovernable. The facts were as follow.

“The transport, Abercrombie Robinson, with the second battalion of the 91st Regiment, a company of the 27th Regiment, and some Cape Rifles, arrived in Table Bay on the 25th of August, 1842, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay.

“On the 27th of August, Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay and Major Ducat having landed at Cape Town, the command devolved on Captain B. Gordon.

“The position of the transport was considered rather a dangerous one, from her size,

and from the insufficient depth of water in which she had brought up. The Port-Captain, who boarded her on the evening of the 25th, advised the Captain to take up another berth on the following day, but this was impossible; for the wind blew strong into the bay from the quarter which is so much dreaded there, and continued to increase in violence, till eleven o'clock P.M., when it blew a strong gale, and the sea rolling heavily into the bay, the ship pitched very much, and began to feel the ground; but she rode by two anchors, and much cable had been veered out the night before, for greater security.

“ Captain Gordon made such arrangements as he could, in warning the officers, the serjeant-major, and orderly non-commissioned officers, to be in readiness, in case of accident. At a little after three A.M. on the morning of the 28th, the starboard cable snapped in two;—the other cable parted in two or three minutes afterwards, and away went the ship before the storm, her hull striking with heavy crashes against the ground as she drove towards the beach, three miles distant under her lee, and just at this time the fury of the gale, which had never lessened, was made more terrible, by one of the most awful storms of thunder and lightning that had ever been witnessed in Table Bay.

“While the force of the wind and sea was driving the ship into shoaler water, she rolled incessantly, and heaved over so much with the back set of the surf, that to the possibility of her going to pieces before daylight, was added the probability of her settling over to windward, when the decks must have inevitably broken up, and every one of the seven hundred souls on board, must have perished. Meantime heavy seas broke over her side and poured down the hatchways; the decks were opening in every direction, and the strong framework of the hull seemed compressed together, starting the beams from their places.

“The ship had been driven with her starboard bow towards the beach, exposing her stern to the sea, which rushed through the stern-ports, and began to tear up the floor of the orlop deck.

“However, as it drew towards morning, the ship seemed to have worked a bed for herself in the sand; for the terrible rolling had greatly diminished, and there then arose the hope that most of those on board might get safe ashore, and at day-break, about seven o'clock, it was just possible to distinguish some people on the beach opposite to the wreck.

“Owing to the fear of the masts, spars and rigging falling, as well as to keep as much top weight as

possible off the ship's decks, the troops had been kept below, but were now allowed to come on deck in small numbers. Soon after seven, an attempt was made to send a rope ashore; and one of the best swimmers, a Krooman, volunteered the trial with a rope round his body; but the back set of the surf was too much for him and beat him back. A line made fast to a spar never got beyond the ship's bows, and one fired from a gun also failed in reaching the shore.

“One of the cutters was then carefully lowered, on the lee-side of the ship, and by great exertions her crew succeeded in reaching the shore with a hauling line. Two large surf-boats were shortly afterwards seen coming along the shore in waggons, opposite to the place where the ship was stranded, and orders were immediately given by Captain Gordon for the disembarkation of the troops, in the following manner.

“The women and children to disembark first. Of these there were above ninety.

“The sick to disembark after the women and children; and, lastly, the disembarkation of the troops to take place by the companies drawing lots; the detachments of the 27th Regiment, and of the Cape Mounted Riflemen, taking the precedence of the 91st Regiment.

“ The men to fall in on the upper deck, fully armed and accoutred, carrying their knapsacks and great coats.

“ The disembarkation of the women and children and of the sick, occupied from half-past eight until ten o'clock A.M. The detachments of the 27th Regiment, and of the Cape Mounted Riflemen, followed. That of the 91st was arranged, by the wings drawing lots, and then the companies of each wing.

“ At half-past ten A.M. one of the surf-boats, which had been employed up to this time in the disembarkation of the troops, was required to endeavour to save the lives of those on board the ‘Waterloo,’ a convict ship, which was in still more imminent peril, about a quarter of a mile from the ‘Abercrombie Robinson.’

“ Having now but one boat and four hundred and fifty men yet waiting to disembark, and the wind and sea, beginning again to increase, the captain declared his apprehension that she might go to pieces before sunset. This apprehension (however unfounded it afterwards proved) induced Captain Gordon to abandon the men’s knapsacks, as they not only filled a greater space in the surf-boat than could be spared, but took a long time to hand down the ship’s side.

“ The disembarkation of the six companies went

on regularly but slowly from eleven A.M. until half-past three P.M., the boat being only able to hold thirty men at a time ; but at length the last boat left the ship's side. It contained those of the ship's officers and crew who had remained to the last. Serjeant-Major (Murphy) of the 91st Regiment ; two non-commissioned officers who had requested permission to remain ; Captain Gordon ; and Lieutenant Black, R.N., agent of transports, who had dined at government house the night before, but came on board the wreck with one of the first surf-boats that reached it on the following morning. Thus nearly seven hundred souls completed their disembarkation, through a raging surf, without the occurrence of a single casualty. Among them were ninety women and children, and several sick men, of whom two were supposed to be dying.

“ Although it had been deemed prudent to abandon the men's knapsacks and the officers' baggage, the men of the 91st Regiment went down the side of the shattered wreck, fully armed and accoutred, and, with the exception of their knapsacks, ready for instant service, and indeed it would be difficult to praise sufficiently the steady discipline of that young battalion, though severely tested during nearly seventeen hours of danger, above eight of which were hours of darkness and imminent peril. That discipline failed not, even when the apparent hope-

lessness of their situation might have led to scenes of confusion and disorder; for the doubled guards and sentries, which had at first been posted over the wine and spirit stores, were found unnecessary, and were withdrawn.

“ Although the ship was straining in every timber, and the heavy seas were making a fair breach over her, the companies fell in on the weather side of the deck as their lots were drawn, as quietly as on a parade, and waited for their turn to muster at the lee gang-way; and so perfect was their confidence, their patience, and their gallantry, that although the ‘Waterloo,’ was going to pieces within a quarter of a mile, and a number of soldiers, sailors, and convicts, were perishing before their eyes; not a murmur arose from their ranks, when Captain Gordon directed that the lot should not be applied to the detachments of the 27th Regiment and Cape Mounted Riflemen; but that the 91st should yield them the precedence in disembarking from the wreck.

“ It was through Serjeant-Major Murphy that Captain Gordon communicated his orders and carried them into execution. Every direction was obeyed during the confusion of the wreck, with the exactness of a parade-ground. He never left the part of the ship, where he had been stationed during the darkness and terror of the night, although a wife and child seemed to claim a portion

of his solicitude ; and when he received permission to accompany them into the surf-boat, he petitioned to be allowed to remain with Captain Gordon to the last.

“ Two serjeants, Phillips and Murray, mentioned as remaining to the last, were young lads, barely twenty-two years of age. They had married shortly before the battalion embarked at Kingston ; and their wives (quite girls) were clinging to them for support, when the ship parted from her anchors. The guards were ordered to be doubled, and additional serjeants were posted to each. This brought Serjeants Phillips and Murray on duty. Without a murmur, they left their wives and joined the guards on the lower deck. Their example of perfect obedience and discipline was eminently useful.

“ Another non-commissioned officer, Corporal Thomas Nugent, was of great service in helping to encourage the men of the four companies, whom it was considered necessary to keep below on the orlop deck ; he assisted in silencing some whose fears were beginning to be expressed too loudly for the general good. He also requested to be allowed not to disembark with his company, as it was his wish to stand by Captain Gordon to the last.

“ The conduct of Mr. Stubbs, Assistant-Surgeon, well deserved notice. He was in wretched health ;

but, on the first announcement of danger, he repaired to the sick bay, and never left his charge until they were all safely landed.

“And although last in this narrative, the calmness and resignation of the soldiers’ wives ought to be ranked among those ingredients of order, which contributed to the safety of the whole. Confusion, terror, and despair, joined to the wildest shrieks, were fast spreading their dangerous influence from the women’s quarter, when Captain Gordon first descended among the people on the lower decks. A few words sufficed to quiet them, and from that moment their patience and submission never faltered.”

This narrative having been forwarded to the Horse Guards by General Sir G. Napier commanding at the Cape, the following was the minute made upon it by the Duke of Wellington.

“I have never read anything so satisfactory as this Report. It is highly creditable not only to Captain Bertie Gordon and the officers and troops concerned, but to the service in which such an instance has occurred of discretion and of firmness in an officer in command, and of confidence, good order, discipline, and obedience in all under his direction, even to the women and children. Captain Bertie Gordon and all concerned deserve the highest approbation, and

I will not forget their conduct. I will take an early opportunity of laying before her Majesty this most interesting narrative, and I will not fail, as opportunities offer, to draw her Majesty's gracious attention to those whose conduct is the subject of it."

ESSAY XX.

STRATAGEM, CAUTION, AND SECRECY.

WARLIKE operations are frequently of such a nature as to require secrecy, and stratagem, as well as spirit and boldness.

The capture of the fortress of Breda from the Spaniards by the Dutch, in the year 1590, was effected by as ingenious a stratagem, and as boldly executed perhaps as any on record, yet an unforeseen accident as nearly as possible rendered it a failure. Dr. Watson thus describes the occurrence :—

“ In the month of February, 1590, a misfortune happened, which convinced the Duke of Parma that Prince Maurice was an antagonist of a character ex-

tremely different from that of any other with whom he had hitherto contended. This was the loss of the important city of Breda, of which Maurice got possession by a singular stratagem, suggested to him by the master of a boat, called Adrian Vandenberg, who had sometimes supplied the town and garrison with turf for firing. When Lanzavecchia, the Governor, was at Breda, all vessels which came there were carefully examined; but the Duke of Parma, having rewarded this crafty Italian for the part which he acted in corrupting the garrison of St. Gertrudenberg, with the government of that town, still suffered him to retain that of Breda. Lanzavecchia found it necessary to be often absent from the latter of these places; and, during his absence, usually committed the charge of it to his son. Vandenberg having observed that on these occasions there was commonly great negligence in searching his boat, founded on this circumstance his plan for taking the citadel by surprise. It was immediately communicated to Prince Maurice, who readily embraced it, and immediately applied himself to put it in execution. The boat was loaded in appearance with turf, as usual; but the turf was supported by a floor of planks fixed at the distance of several feet from the bottom; and under this floor seventy select soldiers were placed, under the command of

Charles Harauguer, an officer of distinguished valour and capacity. They had but a few miles to sail ; yet, through unexpected accidents, several days passed before they could reach Breda. The wind turned against them, the melting ice retarded their course, and the boat having struck upon a bank, was so much damaged, that the soldiers were for some time up to the knees in water. Their provisions were almost spent, and one of their number was seized with a violent cough, which, if it continued, they foresaw would certainly occasion a discovery. This man had the generosity to offer them his sword, and to entreat them to kill him. They as generously declined it, and being resolved to run all risks, rather than embroil their hands in the blood of their companion, they still persisted in their design. Happily their virtue was rewarded : the soldier's cough left him, and even the leak in their vessel was stopped by some accidental cause.

“ In order to secure the absence of Lanzavecchia, whose vigilance there was much ground to dread, Prince Maurice had made a feint of marching against Gertrudenberg, and this artifice produced the desired effect. Lanzavecchia was absent from Breda when the boat arrived. It was admitted within the fortifications of the castle, and the search was made in the most superficial manner.

“ Notwithstanding this, there was still the utmost danger of a discovery, and it would certainly have been made, had not Vandenberg possessed an extraordinary share of address and art, which he exerted on this occasion. There being a scarcity of fuel in the castle, the turf was immediately purchased ; the soldiers of the garrison were set to work in carrying it ashore, and so great a number of hands were employed, that they would soon have uncovered the planks, and thereby have detected the plot, had not Vandenberg, pretending to be fatigued with labour and watching, and unable to assist the soldiers, any longer in unloading, first amused them with discourse, and then invited them to join him in drinking some wine which he had provided. His offer was readily accepted. The night came on, and the Spanish soldiers were all either asleep or drunk. Vandenberg then set out, in order to give notice of his success to Prince Maurice and Count Hohenloe, who, according to agreement, had in great silence brought forward a body of forces within a little distance of the town.

“ About the middle of the night, Harauguer issued forth from his retreat ; and having divided his band into two bodies, he attacked, at the same time, both the guards which were placed at the gate towards the country, and those which were sta-

tioned at another gate which led from the citadel to the town, and meeting with little or no resistance, he secured possession of the gates. Young Lanzavecchia rushed out against him with between thirty and forty of the garrison; but these men were not able to withstand the determined and desperate valour of the assailants. They were all either put to the sword, or dispersed, and Lanzavecchia himself was wounded and taken prisoner.

“ The alarm was soon communicated to the town, in which there was a numerous garrison, consisting of five companies of Italian foot, and one of horse. The citizens offered to co-operate with the garrison in defending the fortifications, till the Duke of Parma should come to their relief; but this cowardly garrison, being struck with an universal panic, and having no Commander-in-chief to direct their operations, suddenly forsook the town. In the meantime Prince Maurice arrived in the citadel, and the inhabitants having now no garrison to support them, sent a trumpet with an offer of surrender, on condition that they should not be plundered. And to this Prince Maurice readily agreed; but required that they should pay him ninety thousand florins to be distributed among his troops.

“ Maurice received the greater satisfaction from this acquisition, which had been attended with the

loss of only one man, as Breda had been for many years the hereditary property of his family; and for the same reason the citizens were less reluctant in submitting to his authority. He appointed the brave Harauguer to be governor of the town, and liberally rewarded Vandenberg and all the other sailors and soldiers in proportion to their merit."

Foresight is one of the most essential qualities for an officer. "A good general," said the great Condé, "may be beaten; but he never ought to be surprised." One of his maxims was, that to enable a general not to be afraid of his enemies when they were near him, he should have taken the precaution of being afraid of them when they were at a distance.

General Kane, in his memoir of the Duke of Marlborough's famous and last campaign of 1711, gives the following account of an imprudence on the part of General Rantzau, an excellent and experienced officer, which was near producing very great hindrance to the grand operation by which the French lines were passed:—

"That part of Villars' lines wherein he lay encamped, had a deep morass in front, near an English mile over, which was occasioned by the Sensett branching out in several channels from Arras, which made the morass extend from thence

to Bouchain, over which were two causeways for the conveniency of the country people. Villars had these in his front, and on one side a strong fort, called Arleux, in which he kept a strong garrison. The Duke wanted to have Villars demolish this fort. He saw he could take it when he pleased ; but he knew so soon as he was marched from thence, Villars would come and rebuild it ; but should he pretend to fortify it, he expected, when he was marched off, Villars would come and retake, and demolish it. According to this scheme the Duke made a detachment of as many battalions and squadrons as were requisite for that purpose, under Lieutenant-General Rantzau, an old experienced officer ; and ordered that this detachment should encamp on the glacis of Douay, two short leagues from Arleux, there to lie till affairs were got ready for the siege. The Lieutenant-General, thinking the detachment safe under the cannon of Douay, took up his quarters in the town, as did also the commanding officers ; and those that lay in camp followed the example of their commanders, and thinking themselves secure, neglected keeping such out-guards as were necessary.

“ Villars, informed of the careless encampment of this detachment, ordered a strong body of horse and dragoons over the Causeway of Arleux, and from

thence, when it grew duskish, marched them, with all the silence imaginable, towards our detachment, so that about one, he took them napping, without being challenged by one centinel, and fell in upon the right flank of the horse, where they made great havoc ; but the quarter-guards of the foot taking the alarm, fired at them : this alarmed the rest of the foot, who running to arms even in their shirts, attacked them with the greatest fury, and put a stop to their advancing any further than the horse ; but had they not fallen to plunder as they did, (a bewitching thing to all soldiers, whereby many battles have been lost, and brave designs frustrated,) they might have cut the whole detachment to pieces, and have had the plunder when they had done. Villars, finding the foot had got to their arms, ordered his men to retire, which they did with little or no loss, but killed and wounded a great many of our troopers, and carried off most of their horses.

“ This was the only affront the Duke of Marlborough received during the whole war, nor could the blame be imputed to him. However, this may be a caution to all officers, from the general to the subaltern, never to think themselves too secure, be the command what it will ; for could anything seem more so than this detachment, under the cannon of such a fortified town as Douay, and the grand army

encamped so near them? Which makes good the old proverb, *Security dwells next door to ruin.*”

There are certain fixed principles that are within the reach of every mind, and attention to which, requires only common understanding. If a number of men enter into a wood which is infested with robbers and beasts of prey, they will intrench themselves to prevent surprise. Even brute animals have been known to display almost as much skill both in defending themselves, and in avoiding an enemy, as men display against each other.

Captain Carleton, in his interesting (and undoubtedly genuine) memoir of his military life, gives the following account of the surprise of an English regiment, and it is not the least curious part of the story that Berwick's feeling as an Englishman, though in command of the French and Spanish troops, showed itself in his vexation at the misconduct of the British troops.

“The siege of Carthage being over, (it was captured at the end of 1706, by the Duke of Berwick,) the Lord Galway returned to his camp; and the Lord Duncannon dying at Alicant, the first guns that were fired from Gorges' battery were the minute-guns for his funeral. His regiment had been given to the Lord Montandre, who lost it before he had possession, by an action as odd as it was scandalous.

“ That regiment had received orders to march to the Lord Galway’s camp, under the command of their Lieutenant-Colonel, Bateman, a person before reputed a good officer, though his conduct here gave people, not invidious, too much reason to call it in question. On his march, he was so very careless and negligent, (though he knew himself in a country surrounded with enemies, and that he was to march through a wood, where they every day made their appearance in great numbers,) that his soldiers marched with their muskets slung at their backs, and went one after another, as necessity had forced us to do in Scotland, himself at the head of them, in his chaise, riding a considerable way before.

“ It happened there was a Captain, with three-score dragoons, detached from the Duke of Berwick’s army, with a design to intercept some cash that was ordered to be sent to Lord Galway’s army from Alicant. This detachment, missing of that intended prize, was returning very disconsolate, *re infectâ*; when their Captain, observing that careless and disorderly march of the English, resolved, boldly enough, to attack them in the wood. To that purpose he secreted his little party behind a great barn; and so soon as they were half passed by he falls upon them in the centre with his dragoons, cutting and slashing at such a violent rate, that he

soon dispersed the whole regiment, leaving many dead and wounded upon the spot. The three colours were taken ; and the gallant Lieutenant-Colonel taken out of his chaise, and carried away prisoner with many others ; only one officer, who was an ensign, and so bold as to do his duty, was killed.

“ The Lieutenant who commanded the grenadiers received the alarm time enough to draw his men into a house in their way, where he bravely defended himself for a long time ; but, being killed, the rest immediately surrendered. The account of this action I had from the commander of the enemy’s party himself, some time after, while I was a prisoner. And Captain Mahoni, who was present when the news was brought, that a few Spanish dragoons had defeated an English regiment, which was this under Bateman, protested to me, that the Duke of Berwick turned pale at the relation ; and when they offered to bring the colours before him, he would not so much as see them. A little before the Duke went to supper, Bateman himself was brought to him ; but the Duke turned away from him without any further notice than coldly saying, ‘ that he thought he was very strangely taken.’ ”

Negligence on such occasions is unpardonable. The “ *non putabam* ” is in war the most inadmissible

of all excuses. Though it is not in the power of an officer to foresee what the enemy may attempt against him, yet he ought to be always prepared for such accidents. These remarks are chiefly applicable to the operations of hostile armies in the field. The stratagems that may be put in force against a town that is besieged are innumerable, and in many cases less easy to guard against. In the campaign of 1760, the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick occupied a position at some distance from Zarenberg, which was in the possession of the French; and was informed by two Hanoverian officers who had been in the town disguised like peasants, that the garrison were very remiss in their duty, trusting to the vicinity of the army, and the distance of the Allies. On receiving this intelligence, the Prince resolved to surprise them; and after appointing a corps to sustain him, he advanced in the night, with Major Maclean of the 88th Regiment, and two hundred Highlanders, with bayonets fixed, and their arms not loaded, following at a short distance. Upon the first sentry's challenging, the Prince answered in French: and the sentry, seeing but two persons advancing, (whom he believed to be French,) had no distrust; so that the Major, advancing to him, struck him down, and prevented his giving the alarm. The Highlanders immediately rushed in, attacked the guard with their

bayonets fixed, and carried the town, having killed or taken the whole garrison of eight hundred men.

The French officer who commanded at that time at Zarenberg, being afterwards exchanged, concerted a scheme for revenge, which failed only by a trivial accident. When almost every house in Bremen was filled with corn, (it being the grand magazine and hospital of the combined army,) this officer held a secret correspondence with some inhabitants of that town ; who informed him of the state of the garrison, and that there was a general order to let couriers going to the army pass out at all hours. He despatched about twenty hussars to scour the country, who attracted the attention of the outposts and patrols ; while he marched fifteen hundred infantry from Dusseldorf to Bremen, (about two hundred English miles,) concealing them in woods by day, and marching in the night. He arrived at the gate of Bremen at the appointed hour, when a postillion on horseback, blowing a horn, came along the street and desired to pass out to the army. The officer of the guard had the keys, and happened to be out of the way : and while a messenger went for him, the French detachment growing impatient, began to break down the outer barrier, which made the sentry fire at the place where he heard the

noise, and the guard, taking the alarm, got on the rampart, and likewise fired at the same place; upon which the pretended postillion galloped back, and the French, believing that they were discovered, relinquished their scheme, and retired. •

This example proves, that no *distance* is a security from surprises; and that very considerable bodies of troops may pass over a great extent of country without being discovered.

It is especially in pursuing an enemy that the greatest precautions are required; because his retreat may be feigned, and only with the design of an ambuscade, or of returning upon you, in greater force. The hazard is then increased too, as the soldiers, thinking only of the pursuit, are more difficult to be restrained and controlled. In proportion as the troops advance, care should be taken to occupy the high grounds, the defiles, and the chain of mountains; and to make sure of the most important posts, so that it may always be practicable to retreat without fear of being cut off.

If, in observing the nature of the country, which must always be done with the greatest care and attention, it appears that a progress through it will be attended with great danger, or that the force is not sufficient to secure the posts of importance, it is better to give over the pursuit, than to continue it at a blind hazard.

A deplorable instance of neglect was exhibited in the fatal defeat of General Braddock's detachment in our war with the French in North America.

Lord Mahon, in his admirable "History of England from the Peace of Utrecht," gives the following account of this affair.

"In January, 1755, General Braddock, with some troops, had been despatched to the relief of Virginia. Braddock was a man cast in the same mould as Hawley, of a brave but brutal temper, and, like Hawley also, a personal favourite of the Duke of Cumberland. His rigorous ideas of discipline had made him hateful to his soldiers, and from the same cause he held in great contempt the American militia, seeing that they could not go through their exercises with the same dexterity and regularity which he had so often admired and enforced in Hyde Park. As to the Indians, the allies of France, he treated with disdain all the warnings he received against an ambush or surprise from them; and the Indians of his own party, who would have been his surest guards against this particular peril, were so disgusted by the haughtiness of his demeanour, that most of them forsook their banners. Aiming his operations against Fort Duquesne, the principal of the new French encroachments on the Ohio, he first reached the Little Meadows, the scene of Washington's reverse in the preceding

summer. Here he found it necessary to leave a part of his troops, and all his heavy baggage, but pursued his march with twelve hundred men and ten pieces of artillery. On the 9th of July, he had arrived within ten miles of Fort Duquesne, when about noon he entered a hollow vale between two thick woods. He had neglected all precautions of scouts or vedettes, when suddenly his men were assailed in front, and in flank, by a murderous fire from unseen enemies. These were the native Indians, assisted by a handful of French. They continued their fire from the covert, singling out especially the officers, whom they distinguished by their dress, and brought down with unerring aim. In this emergency, Braddock's courage could not be exceeded; he had several horses killed under him, but at length, was mortally wounded by a ball through his breast, and was borne off the field by some soldiers whom his aide-de-camp had bribed to that service by a guinea and a bottle of rum to each. He lingered a few hours more, having first dictated a despatch in which he did justice to the good conduct of his officers. Seeing him fall, his troops sought safety in headlong flight, leaving behind them their artillery and seven hundred dead or dying men."

Hannibal, although the most celebrated general

of his day, has been blamed for a signal neglect of opportunity. After the battle of Cannæ, it seems to have been in his power to march to Rome, and by following up his first blow, and taking advantage of the consternation of the Romans, to have pursued them to the Capitol. He might have made use of the glorious occasion which fortune had thrown into his hands, and would not have been driven to the necessity of fighting several subsequent battles that never perfectly restored it. Adherbal, after failing in his attempt to persuade Hannibal to pursue his first good fortune, and to march to the gates of Rome, is recorded to have used the following expression :—" Hannibal, thou knowest how to conquer, but not how to make use of a victory ?"

If Charles I., had hastened to London, after the battle of Edge Hill, there can be little doubt but that the parliament, being quite unprepared for defence, he would have become master of such resources as might very possibly have enabled him to turn the tide of success in his favour. And, this march would have been quite feasible, for in that extraordinary conflict (when both armies seem at different times to have believed themselves defeated,) the final event was so little decisive, that several pieces of cannon were actually left on the

field the whole night, neither party venturing to seize and bring them off. The Earl of Essex drew off to Warwick, and the King, instead of making the best of his way for London, proceeded to Oxford, and there wasted many valuable days in refreshing his army, by which Essex gained time to reach London before him, and organize the city train bands and militia for defence.

During the Thirty Years' War, the army under the command of Bernard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, having laid siege to Brisach in 1638, the Imperialists went to the relief of that place. The Duke, on receiving intelligence of their approach, instantly marched against them, with a body of allied forces composed of Swedes and French. The Imperialists, having advanced by rapid marches, had gained possession of an eminence, by means of which they would have gained all the advantages of local superiority, had not the Count de Guébriant, who was then a lieutenant-general in the Swedish service, suggested a stratagem to dislodge the enemy.

The drums and trumpets of the different corps were collected together, and stationed in a neighbouring wood, so as to draw the enemy's attention away from the quarter intended to be carried. The Imperialists being naturally led to believe, from the sound of so many military instruments, that they

were going to be attacked from that point, beat to arms, and left their position in complete order of battle. They had scarcely quitted the eminence, before the Duke of Saxe Weimar appeared in the rear, took possession of the ground which they had so imprudently abandoned, and became master of that advantageous position.

In the campaign of Caubul, it was often a matter of the greatest difficulty and danger to convey information from one military post to another. The natives employed on this service were certain, if intercepted, to be treated with the greatest barbarity by Dost Mahommed's detachments, but on more than one occasion, these men endured every kind of cruelty, rather than disclose their missions, and their invention and ingenuity for evading detection were extraordinary. One of the devices to which they had recourse was to have the message briefly inscribed on a flat portion of an ordinary brick, which the messenger carried openly in his hand, and on the appearance of an enemy's party, he would throw it carelessly from him as if at some bird or reptile, carefully marking the spot and returning to fetch his precious brick as soon as the patrol had questioned and perhaps closely examined him, without detecting any suspicious appearance or circumstances.

During the war of the Spanish Succession, when the Count de las Torres commanded for Philip V. in the province of Valentia, he laid siege to San Mateo, a town on the borders of the province, with seven thousand men. The Earl of Peterborough, who commanded the English forces sent to the assistance of Charles III., marched to the relief of the place, from Barcelona to Tortosa; but finding his force quite inadequate, he had recourse to artifice, for the people of the surrounding country, contrary to what he had been told, were by no means inclined to his party.

Lord Mahon, in his valuable and interesting history of this war, describes the rest of the affair in the following manner.

“ The first step at Tortosa was to call together the governors, officers, and magistrates, in order to ascertain the progress and the position of the army of sixteen thousand peasants which he expected to join. To his utter astonishment, he was now informed that there was no such army in existence at all; and that the enemy, so far from consisting of only a thousand horse and as many foot, amounted to three thousand of the former and four thousand of the latter. Almost any other general would have given up the relief of San Mateo in disgust, more especially as all the inferior officers

loudly exclaimed against the madness of such an attempt under such circumstances. But Peterborough's genius did not fail him at this crisis. Any open attack, with his little force of twelve hundred men, was, indeed, utterly out of the question; but no man better understood how to make skill supply the place of strength. He first divided his body of men into very small detachments, directing each to march, singly by night, through the least frequented paths, and to re-unite at Traguera, a small town about six leagues from San Mateo. The troops having executed these orders without the slightest alarm, Peterborough ordered the gates of the town to be closed and guarded, thus preventing any person from going out to give Las Torres intelligence.

“ His next object was to overawe the enemy, and induce them to raise the siege of San Mateo, by a persuasion that his small force was very far superior to theirs. With this view, he sent out two Spanish spies, for whose trusty obedience he took security according to his usual practice; ‘for,’ says an eyewitness, ‘my lord never made use of any Spaniards without getting the whole family in his possession, to be answerable for those he employed.’ To only one of these spies, moreover, did he impart his full confidence. The other was merely desired to pass

the enemy's lines, with a letter to Colonel Jones, in which Peterborough announced his approach at the head of a very large force; seemed confident of an easy victory over Las Torres, and desired him only to have his Miguelets ready to issue forth, pursue, and plunder, since nothing else would be required of them. The two spies set out at night, and, according to Peterborough's directions, the one most trusted went over to the enemy; pretended to betray the approach of a great English army, and reported that a countryman had been despatched from Traguera, with the hope of making his way into San Mateo. By this clue the second spy was, according to Peterborough's wishes, intercepted with his letter; and Las Torres, unsuspecting of stratagem, became convinced that his own position was one of considerable danger. He waited in much perplexity and apprehension till the morning; when, according to the promise in the letter, he saw English outposts actually advancing on the summits of the hills above his camp, and availing themselves of the wooded and uneven ground to conceal their real weakness, and present the appearance of a considerable army. Las Torres then, without further delay, ordered his tents to be struck, his artillery to be spiked, and his troops to retreat, as rapidly as possible, on the road to Valencia. Thus did Peterborough's twelve hun-

dred men, driving seven thousand before them, enter in triumph the walls of San Mateo. But, instead of indulging in the repose which his fatigues required, or the congratulations which his skill deserved, the English general pressed forward through the town, and hung upon the rear of the enemy, thereby both ascertaining the direction, and increasing the speed of their retreat."

Nor was he satisfied with having accomplished the relief of this place and the retreat of Las Torres. From San Mateo Lord Peterborough went against Nules, another town in the same quarter of Spain; but as he had but 1,200 men, and was in other points totally unable to attack, he again resolved to try stratagem, rode quickly up to the gate, and calling for some of the magistrates, or of the priests of the place, commanded the town to be surrendered to Charles the Third. He assured them that if they would immediately yield, they should meet with good treatment, but that if they refused, he would instantly permit his army to plunder the town. He granted them only six minutes for consideration, and in the meantime called aloud to his people to bring up the artillery, though he had not a single gun. Hardly had he pronounced the words, when the town was thrown open to him; and the example was followed by several others in the neighbourhood.

In this manner Peterborough performed such extraordinary exploits in Spain, that the people began to give credit to all the fabulous stories of valour and wonderful achievements related by their old romance-writers. Even in England his successes were by many regarded as obscuring the glory of Marlborough. By his spies he stirred up such rumours in Spain, that he often set the partisans of Charles and Philip to destroy one another, without his seeming to take any share in the business. His liberality was employed in supporting the priests and other persons attached to Charles III. out of his own private property. In short, the Spaniards considered the Earl of Peterborough as the father of stratagem, and were persuaded that Fortune never ceased to attend him.

This active General used to keep his troops so constantly engaged in marching, and in all sorts of labour, that a new method of war, and a new military discipline, seemed to have been introduced. He made frequent incursions into the different provinces of Spain; and sometimes, making a sudden giving battle, he would suddenly appear next morning in a place at a distance from his position of the day before. On this account, the Spanish Commander is said to have reflected on Peterborough, as if he carried on war in a way contrary to established

rules. To these reflections Peterborough answered, as the Earl of Murray had done before to Edward III. on the banks of the Wear, that he was resolved to conduct himself according to his own judgment, and not by the rules of his enemies.

* An officer ought to use continual precaution, as well against the positive attempts of the enemy, as against any indiscretion or negligence in his own conduct which may subject him to danger. An Italian regiment in the service of Austria was broken in the year 1778, on account of an instance of misconduct, attended with circumstances well worthy the attention of all officers. It was commanded by a young nobleman, who had served so well as to obtain a very considerable share of reputation. His regiment was marching in rear of a column through a very difficult country, and bad roads, in a very dark and stormy night. He had a great quantity of baggage with him, and unfortunately had ten or twelve loaded mules in front of his battalion. From this cause he was unable to keep in sight the rear of the battalion which preceded him in the column ; and eventually, deviating from the road, lost all communication with the army to which he belonged. On discovering his mistake, he seemed to be confounded in the use of his intellects, and could recur to no expedient to extricate himself from his

difficulty, except to surrender to the enemy : accordingly, after sending out officers to search in different directions, a squadron of Prussian hussars was met with, and being brought to the spot, the Colonel surrendered his whole battalion prisoners of war. All laid down their arms, except one Ensign, who^r protested against it, and escaping with about a hundred men, after incurring some loss, regained the Austrian army in safety. The Ensign was promoted to a lieutenancy, and his name inserted with honour in the gazette ; the Colonel was broken, and the rest of the regiment disbanded : and this whole series of misfortunes originated entirely in the one incautious act of admitting the baggage within the line of march.

Among the early actions fought by the English in the American war, that of Guildford was a remarkable one. On that occasion General Greene commanded the Americans, Lord Cornwallis the English. Greene had both courage and talents, but he might almost be called a general without an army ; for he led to the field soldiers without a sufficiency of clothes or ammunition, and whose muskets were without bayonets. The militia attached to his force had had little instruction, and were capable of taking alarm at the first shot ; and he was almost entirely destitute of artillery. Colonel Washington, afterwards

so celebrated, who commanded his advanced guard, met a party of one hundred and twenty English, who shut themselves up in a barn, built of wood, surrounded by wooden palings, strong enough to be inaccessible to soldiers few in number, and badly armed. Washington calculated that men under the influence of alarm do not see objects with their usual clearness. Accordingly he had a log of fir cut in the forest, and shaped like a piece of ordnance, and having contrived to colour it like iron, placed this clumsy imitation on a frame roughly put together like a gun-carriage, and boldly summoned the English to surrender, threatening to exterminate them with his artillery, if they delayed one moment to capitulate. As they were well aware that a few cannon-shots would suffice to throw down the wooden house and destroy all those who had taken refuge in it, the English officer, after some consideration, consented to surrender, and one hundred and twenty men accordingly laid down their arms without a shot being fired on either side.

It is highly necessary to distinguish between irresolution, and a modest diffidence of our own talents and capacity. The one is a sluggishness of mind ; a timidity which presents only the obstacles to a measure, without at the same time discovering the means by which they may be overcome. The

other results from a penetration which perceives the extent of its own power and that of its danger.

In 1741, the French, Bavarians, and Saxons, in their passage into Bohemia, were not able to arrive before Prague till toward the end of November. The season was remarkably severe. An army, which was then only at five leagues distance, marched to the relief of the place. On this, Count Saxe changed his operations, and determined to commence and to finish the siege in one night, by opening the trenches and storming the town. Thus, while two vigorous attacks were made, which drew the greatest part of the garrison to those spots, the scaling-ladders were fixed, and the town taken by assault.

Caution, therefore, though a great and indispensable quality in the character of an officer, should yield, on proper occasions, to a certain degree of daring, or even of temerity. When George II. proposed giving the command of the expedition against Quebec to General Wolfe, great objections were raised by some of the ministers, and the Duke of Newcastle, in particular, begged his Majesty to consider that the *man* was actually mad. "If he be," answered the King, "I wish he would bite some of my generals."

The Count of Harcourt, with an army of eight

thousand men, attacked that of the Spaniards, consisting of twenty thousand, at Quiers in Piedmont, and defeated them. The Spanish General, having dispatched a trumpet to him for an exchange of prisoners, sent him word also, that if he were King of France, he would order his head to be cut off, for having engaged an army so much superior in numbers to his own. "And if I were King of Spain," replied the Count, "I would order your head to be cut off, for not having beaten an army so much inferior to yours."

There is nothing of greater importance in military operations than secrecy. Neither exultation in the hoped-for success, nor apprehension, nor familiarity, nor affection, should induce an officer to communicate a knowledge of his design, or of the enterprise with which he is entrusted, to persons who ought not to be made acquainted with it. To none should it be confided but those only whom he is obliged to employ in the execution of it. Again: it is not always necessary to disclose the whole plan at first; but it may be unfolded by degrees, as the different stages of its progress require. Secrecy consists no less in saying nothing, than in dissembling our real intentions. It has been remarked of many persons, that while they observe silence, they have either by their countenance or their actions betrayed the secrets

of their hearts. Peter III. of Arragon replied to one of his officers, who, on an occasion of importance, questioned him respecting the reason of certain movements, that "if his clothes could tell what then occupied his mind, he would burn them."

When the Duke of Marlborough went on his mission from Queen Anne and the allies to Charles XII. of Sweden, in 1707, he found him at the camp of Altranstadt near Lutzen, evidently preparing his assembled army for some great operation; but with all his diplomatic address, the Duke could extract nothing from him as to whether he was inclined to listen to overtures from the Emperor and the allies, or to take part with France. The Duke, however, prolonged the interview by general conversation on war, and the condition of the armies of Europe, in order if possible to find some opportunity of penetrating his intentions. But Charles was on his guard, and though he treated the Duke with much deference, and conversed freely on all other subjects, still upon this main point he would say nothing. One circumstance, however, caught the attention of the Duke, though with all his discretion the King of Sweden had never thought of the possible inference that might be drawn from it. A map of Russia lay on the King's writing-table, and Charles had evidently been studying it just before the

audience took place. This was enough for the acute experience and judgment of Marlborough. He at once formed his opinion that the invasion of Russia was in fact the uppermost thought in the King's mind, and posted off a messenger immediately with despatches, assuring the ministers at home that they need not fear any interference from the King of Sweden in behalf of France, for that his views were certainly directed solely to Russia, which the sequel proved to be correct.

The Prince of Orange, in 1677, in the midst of those misfortunes which seemed about to overwhelm his country, had sufficient fortitude and elevation of mind to form the design of offensive operations against France. His first measures were taken against Charleroi. He was in full march for the execution of this enterprise, of which no one had the least suspicion, when an officious colonel ventured to question him upon what steps he was about to take. "But," said the Prince, "if you know my designs, you will promise to communicate them to no one?" "Assuredly," answered the Colonel. "Heaven," rejoined the Prince, "has given me also the capacity of keeping a secret."

Frankness and sincerity are the indications of a mind which, a stranger to duplicity in itself, never suspects it in another; but in our intercourse with

mankind, we cannot be too careful in our selection of the persons in whom we place our confidence. It is only after an acquaintance of many years, and long familiarity, that we can fully know the character of those to whom we may entrust the secrets of our private concerns.

But in matters relating to war, it is our duty to confide in no one, for what would not an officer have to answer for, if, having communicated an important secret to one whom he supposed his friend, he should betray it, or, without intention of injury, allow the matter to transpire through inadvertence or indiscretion? Among open and generous natures, so many are free and unreserved, that although the mischief they may do by their disclosures is without design, yet the evil may, in its results, be as great as if they were guided by the worst motives.

It is often expedient to consult the inhabitants of the country where a war is carried on; to listen to them attentively; and on no account to manifest impatience at their tedious details, for an intelligent officer will sometimes derive advantage from circumstances the most minute. Gustavus Adolphus used to say, that the most skilful general might fail in the execution of his best-concerted projects, if he neglected to avail himself of the knowledge of the inhabitants of the country where he made war.

Indeed, it is almost impossible for an officer, charged with the command of a detachment, on the front or flank of an army, to act with security, without employing the peasants for gaining secret intelligence respecting the enemy.

ESSAY XXI.

ARMIES OF EUROPE.

THE Greeks, who appear first to have made any regular study of the art of war, were so convinced of the necessity of theory, and the insufficiency of practice alone, that they instituted public academies, where they professed to teach the science of war upon fixed principles and rules. Other nations imitated the Greeks, and though we do not read of their forming military academies, yet they certainly employed professors to teach the art of war.

The manner of arranging troops and of training them to the different military evolutions, was properly what the ancient Greeks distinguished by the name of Tactics.

Polybius, whose works on the Greek Tactics are

unfortunately lost, calls it " the art of training a number of men destined for soldiers, arranging them in ranks and files, and instructing them in everything connected with war."

Princes and states maintained, at the public expense, masters of Tactics, for instructing in the theory those young men who devoted themselves to the profession of arms. There were at Pella, the capital of Macedon, a number of these Tacticians, who enjoyed very lucrative establishments, and this liberality of the sovereign probably contributed not a little to the glory which was acquired by the Macedonians.

We see by Arrian's work on Tactics, that the Greeks carried the military art to a high degree of perfection, and that their officers were accurately versed in the detail of every evolution, and of all the properties and capabilities of the renowned Phalanx, in which they were required to instruct their soldiers with constant labour and diligence.

It does not appear, however, that the lessons of the Tacticians were universally considered with much deference. Hannibal thought meanly of the generality of the professors; and ridiculed one of them, who with a pencil and a tablet in his hand had the assurance to debate with him upon the operations of war.

Pyrrhus has commonly been considered among

the ancients as one of the greatest masters in the military art. He wrote both on Tactics and the Command of Armies, and his works on these subjects were extant in the time of Plutarch. Even Hannibal was wont to speak of Pyrrhus as the most learned as well as the greatest Captain that had ever existed. It would seem that he was not above the smallest detail, for to him is ascribed the invention of small wooden figures, made use of to exhibit on a table, the various movements and evolutions of troops in the field.

The Romans, who trod in the steps of the Greeks, had also a system of Tactics, many of the rules of which are preserved in their writings. It does not appear that they had among them schools and professors of the art of war, but it is certain that they acted upon a regular system, which required a vast amount of theoretical skill as well as of practical knowledge.

The organization of the Roman Legion, the distribution and employment of the different arms, and the mutual support they derived from each other ; their extraordinary skill and labour in entrenching themselves and forming their daily encampments ; their systematic mode of undertaking sieges ; their knowledge of military bridges, and other mechanical parts of the science of war, have, with reason, attracted the attention of many scientific writers in

modern times, and would embrace a far wider field of discussion than could be afforded here. The student, however, who has leisure for such investigation will at all times find the military system of the Romans a subject of engrossing interest and much improvement.

The mode of warfare of the knights and men-at-arms, which seems to have been introduced in Europe by the Normans, and to have prevailed till about the time of our Edward IV., depended almost entirely on personal strength, horsemanship, and skill in the use of the lance and sword. There was, it is true, a sort of infantry with all the large armies of those times, but except the Genoese Crossbow-men and the English Archers, the foot soldiers were of little account in the decision of battles. Nothing but a horseman could bear the enormous weight of defensive armour necessary for taking part in the tremendous hand to hand encounters which occurred in their battles and campaigns, and though bands of spearmen are sometimes mentioned by Froissart and others as doing good service on foot, yet the charge of the knight with his well-poised lance and powerful horse, trained with the utmost care and art to obey every motion of hand and leg, was not to be resisted by infantry provided with no better weapons than spears, and whose defective armour was a poor protection against the lance.

There are few admirers of the writings of Sir Walter Scott who are not familiar with the beautiful and picturesque description he gives of the arms and equipment of a Crusader. "A coat of linked mail," he says, "with long sleeves, plated gauntlets, and a steel breastplate, had not been esteemed a sufficient weight of armour, there was also his triangular shield suspended round his neck, and his barred helmet of steel, over which he had a hood and collar of mail, which was drawn around the warrior's shoulders and throat, and filled up the vacancy between the hauberk and the head-piece. His lower limbs were sheathed, like his body, in flexible mail, securing the legs and thighs, while his feet rested in plated shoes, which corresponded with the gauntlets. A long, broad, straight-shaped, double-edged, faulchion, with a handle formed like a cross, corresponded with a stout poniard on the other side. The knight also bore, secured to his saddle, with one end resting on his stirrup, the long steel-headed lance, his own proper weapon, which, as he rode, projected backward, and displayed its little penoncelle, to dally with the faint breeze, or drop in the dead calm. To this cumbrous equipment must be added a surcoat of embroidered cloth, much frayed and worn, which was thus far useful, that it excluded the burning rays of the sun from the armour, which they would otherwise have rendered intolerable to

the wearer. The surcoat bore in several places the arms of the wearer, though much defaced—a couchant leopard, with the motto, “I sleep, wake me not.” An outline of the same device might be traced on his shield, though many a blow had almost effaced the painting. The flat top of his cumbrous cylindrical helmet was unadorned with any crest. In retaining their own unwieldy defensive armour, the northern crusaders seemed to have set at defiance the nature of the climate, and the country, to which they had come to war. The accoutrements of the horse were scarcely less massive and unwieldy than those of his rider. The animal had a heavy saddle plated with steel, uniting in front with a species of breastplate, and behind, with defensive armour, made to cover the loins. Then there was a steel axe or hammer, called a mace of arms, which hung to the saddle-bow. The reins were secured by chain work, and the front-stall of the bridle was a steel plate, with apertures for the eyes and nostrils, having in the midst a short sharp pike, projecting from the forehead of the horse, like the horn of the fabulous unicorn.”

To carry such a load under a burning sun must, in truth, have been a severe trial of constitution and strength both to man and horse, but one can imagine nothing so completely distressing, and withal so dangerous to health, as the being exposed in such a

dress and equipment, to heavy and continuous rain, which must have easily found its way through the joints of the armour and rings of the frock of mail, and soaked through the leathern doublet or jerkin worn under them, so as to render it little better than a wet sponge closed in and pressed to the body by the cold steel plates of the outside armour.

The Crossbow-men, above alluded to, began, about the early part of the fourteenth century to assume a formidable character, especially in sieges, or under any circumstances where they could discharge their engines from good shelter, and without the danger of being rushed upon by the knight in his steel panoply, which their bolts could seldom pierce, and whose horse was almost as well protected in front as himself.

But the English Archer was at this period a far more formidable opponent to the mounted knight than ever the Crossbow-men could boast themselves. So deadly was their flight of long arrows, and so rapidly could they discharge them, that on many occasions they were found able to maintain positions in the open field against the attacks of the cavalry. A wound from one of their cloth-yard arrows, besides the pain, and danger to life, was a grievous impediment to the movement of horse or man. A limb transfixed by one of these terrible missiles

utterly disabled the sufferer for the time, though it might not eventually prove mortal.

Of the extraordinary feats of archery celebrated by old writers of English history and chronicles, it is scarcely possible to believe a great portion, but while doubting some of the wonderful skill recorded of our old English archers, we must not forget that their practice began from actual infancy, and that the performances in our own day with the lasso by the South Americans, sound fully as improbable to our ears till verified as they are by unquestionable evidence. For what can at first seem more impossible than for a man to set forth on a horse of no great strength or size to catch and disable such a powerful creature as a wild bull, and this with no other appliances than a long leathern thong, with a slip knot at the end of it. And how is he to accomplish this difficult and dangerous task? by the most wonderful dexterity of hand in throwing his slip knot with such precision of aim and such exactness of cast, that it shall encircle and seize the hind leg of the creature while bounding along at full gallop over a level plain, and then by a peculiar management of his horse, giving the bull a check, which tumbles him headlong in his course, without the least strain or injury to himself or the horse he rides.

If practice will accomplish such a result as this, we may safely believe that the English archer had at one period attained a skill which in truth rendered him, (when the quickness of his shooting, and the simplicity and convenience of his weapon is fairly taken into account,) fully as formidable, except in his shorter range, as the musketeer of the seventeenth century, with his clumsy fire-arm.

As to the order of battle, if the arrangement under the leading banners of the principal nobles and knights could properly be so termed, it appears to have been managed by what were called "Marshals," knights of acknowledged experience, who immediately before the commencement of an engagement, rode through the assembled forces, and shifted them into the places which each noble claimed in respect to precedence, and no doubt with some regard also to the disposition of the enemy and the nature of the ground.

In all this, if we may judge from Froissart's account of Crecy and Poitiers, the English attained a considerable degree of method and proficiency before the French had arrived at rendering their forces tolerably subordinate or manageable in the field.

The spirit of chivalry, while it flourished, had mitigated the ferocity of warfare in Europe, and in fact prevented that utter desolation which would otherwise have been the consequence of con-

tinual petty contests between the great vassals, superadded to the more important invasions of hostile nations ; but it began to lose some of the purity of its character during the later wars of Edward III. and John of France.

It was, however, not until the accession of Louis XI. to the French throne (contemporary with our Edward IV.) that great discouragement was given to the spirit of ancient chivalry by that morose, bigoted, and selfish tyrant. His object was to protect himself from the insolent arrogance and pretensions of the great feudal vassals of the French crown, and to accomplish this end, he surrounded himself with guards hired of a foreign people, and took into his pay bodies of Swiss and German mercenaries, whose admirable military training, under leaders of ability and experience, rendered them fully a match for the best disciplined vassals of the feudal lords.

A contemporary historian (Paulus Jovius, Bishop of Nocera) has transmitted to us an animated account of the entry of the French army under Charles VIII. into Rome, in 1494, which throws a light upon the military discipline of the fifteenth century. "First marched a numerous body of Swiss and Germans, keeping time to the beat of their drums, and preserving admirable order under their respective banners. Their dresses were parti-coloured,

short, and fashioned to display the proportion of their limbs; and their chiefs were distinguished by the lofty plumes which arose from the crests of their helmets. The greater number were armed with short swords, and oaken spears ten feet long, with slender points of iron. The fourth part bore large axes, or halberts with square heads, which they wielded in battle with both hands, either striking or thrusting. Every corps of a thousand men was attended by a company of a hundred, armed with harquebusses for the discharge of bullets. Only the officers, and those who occupied the foremost ranks, were protected by helmets and breastplates; the generality of the soldiers were without defensive armour. Five thousand Gascons next followed, for the most part archers, with iron crossbows, in the use of which they were exceedingly skilful: but these had a rude and mean appearance after the tall stature and gallant equipment of the Swiss. The Cavalry, composed of the French nobility, and conspicuous for their silken cloaks, their lofty crests, and their golden chains, followed the foot in a long succession of Squadrons. Two thousand five hundred were armed with heavy cuirasses; and twice as many wore lighter armour. They carried *fluted* spears of extraordinary size, surmounted with massive heads of iron. Their horses were of great power and magnitude, having their ears and manes

cropped, but wanting the leathern housings of the Italian fashion. Each Cuirassier was provided with three horses, a youth as his squire, and two subsidiary yeomen. The light Cavalry, protected only by a helmet and breastplate, were armed with large bows and arrows, according to the manner of the English. Some carried javelins, which they used to transfix such of the enemy as were overthrown in battle by the heavy horse. All wore cloaks embroidered with silver, each bearing a particular device, *so that the valour or cowardice of the wearer could be immediately recognised in the conflict.* Four hundred archers on horseback accompanied the king, of whom one hundred were Scotch, selected for their birth, valour, and fidelity. These were preceded by two hundred French knights, of noble birth and acknowledged bravery, carrying on their shoulders heavy iron maces, and splendidly attired in gold and purple, who waited about the king when he dismounted, and when he rode were seated on powerful horses like the cuirassiers. Charles was accompanied by the Cardinals Ascanio Sforza and Giuliano della Rovere ; behind these came the Cardinals Colonna and Savelli ; whilst Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna and other Italian leaders mingled with the French commanders.

The Romans beheld the cavalcade with fear and admiration ; but what chiefly struck them were the thirty-

six brass cannons mounted on carriages drawn by horses, which passed with almost equal facility over plain and rough places. Their greatest length was eight feet; their weights six thousand pounds, and they were capable of discharging a ball of iron of the bigness of a man's head. After the cannon came the culverins, half as long again, but of smaller calibre. Last came the falcons, some less, some greater, the least of which could launch forth a ball the size of a citron. All these pieces of artillery were mounted on carriages constructed of two thick beams, into which their trunnions were inserted; and they were poised so as to be raised or depressed, the better to direct their aim. The smaller had two wheels; the larger four, but, of these, two could be removed at pleasure, when the guns were not required to be set in motion. The drivers had such command over the horses by their whips and voices, *that on level ground the speed of the artillery was not inferior to that of the cavalry.*

But it was at the battle of Ravenna, in 1512, that we find the first great effect produced by artillery against troops in the open field. Sir R. Comyn thus narrates this desperate conflict:—

“At the head of more than twenty thousand fighting men, and supported by Alfonso Duke of Ferrara, Gaston de Foix, (nephew of Louis XII.,) marched to Ravenna, and turned his powerful train

of artillery against the walls. But although a breach was effected, the valour of Marc Antonio Colonna and the strength of the Italian garrison preserved the city from capture; and after a murderous contest on the ramparts, the French were compelled to desist from the attack. This resolute and successful defence greatly embarrassed the French commander: and his difficulty was not a little increased by the arrival of the Papal and Spanish allies, who took up their station about three miles from Ravenna, and strengthened their position by throwing up retrenchments with extraordinary celerity. It was evident that the Generals of the allied forces were desirous to avoid the engagement; but the extreme scarcity, which pervaded the French camp, made it of the last consequence to De Foix to bring them without delay to an action. He, therefore, resolved upon the hazardous experiment of attacking the trenches of the Allies; who, by the advice of the Spanish General, Pedro of Navarre, sustained the enemy's fire, without attempting to grapple with their assailants. But the Duke of Ferrara, having placed his heavy artillery on a position which commanded the intrenchment, a tremendous fire was poured down upon the Allies, which in a few minutes swept away about two thousand men and five hundred horses. Fabrizio Colonna, impatient of this murderous exposure, and reproaching the Spa-

niard for his inactivity, rushed out upon the French, and was followed by the cavalry and all the Spanish infantry. A general engagement immediately took place; and this memorable day surpassed all that man could remember, by the valour of the combatants and the immensity of the slaughter. After a contest of eight hours, the artillery of Ferrara turned the fate of the battle, and the Papal and Spanish armies were completely routed. The whole of their artillery, and the greater part of their standards and baggage, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The loss of killed on the side of the Allies amounted to eight hundred men-at-arms, thirteen hundred light cavalry, and seven thousand infantry. Amongst the prisoners were the Cardinal Legate, Giovanni de' Medici; Fabrizio Colonna; Ferdinando d'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara; Pedro of Navarre; and many Spanish officers of distinction. But this triumph was dearly bought by the French and Germans. Of these there fell seven hundred men-at-arms, eight hundred and eighty archers, and nine thousand infantry, with many eminent commanders, including the young and gallant De Foix, who was shot dead in the very moment of victory, whilst pursuing some fugitive Spaniards."

By the time of Charles V., the traces of chivalry had nearly disappeared from the armies of Europe. The famous bands of Italian men-at-arms, the Ger-

man Reiters, and the Swiss infantry, were become the very sinews of the armies in which they hired themselves to serve. Exercises and evolutions were studied and practised with unremitting diligence by those mercenaries under their own elected officers, who engaged with Monarchs and Princes to provide the numbers required at a stipulated rate of pay, according to rank and advancement.

Their order of battle consisted of deep and close masses or columns; harquebusses were become a common weapon for the infantry, and, mixed with spears, enabled them to resist successfully the most furious onsets of the cuirassiers, however well-mounted and completely armed. The Cuirassiers were equipped at great expense, and consisted mostly of persons of a better class, and received an amount of pay which much exceeded that of the best paid cavalry of the present day. They were drawn up six or eight deep; and lances, though shorter than those of the knights, were still the favourite weapons among them. Maces and battle-axes were now laid aside, and the broad-sword was universally adopted by all mounted troops.

It was in the Thirty Years' War, which begun a few years before the accession of our Charles I. and terminated about the same year as his life, that a great change took place in the organization of European armies. Personal prowess and hand-to-hand

conflict now gave place to skill and judgment in the management of large bodies of men. Various orders of battle were studied and introduced by the principal generals of the time. The great Gustavus was the first to mix small bodies of infantry with his cavalry, (a system of which it is difficult to see the advantages in our days;) the most exact chain of responsibility and command was established in the Swedish army; the fire of the infantry was become far more effective, in consequence of their order being less deep. The cavalry were drawn up only four deep instead of eight, and were less heavily loaded with defensive armour. Long pistols and broad-swords of admirable temper replaced the general use of the lance. The number of servants and followers of the camp was much diminished, since the horse-soldier, who had replaced the man-at-arms, looked after his own horse and accoutrements. Shields had entirely disappeared, and huge jack-boots made pistol-proof, were used instead of the leg-armour formerly worn by the men-at-arms. Some of the officers, it is true, continued to wear a considerable deal of steel-plate armour, according to the old fashion, about the head, neck, body, and arms, but many of them began to find the weight and inconvenience of complete suits of armour too great to be endured in long and harassing marches, and consequently the leathern jerkin

formerly worn beneath the cuirass was now, with somewhat of additional thickness, adopted, under the appellation of a buff coat. A cuirass and back-piece were worn at first over the buff coat, but even these were pretty generally laid aside towards the latter end of the sixteenth century.

Mr. Harte, in the preliminary discourse prefixed to his History of Gustavus Adolphus, gives some particular details as to these points. He says,

“ The *military dress* of those times was curious enough ; for the heroes were a sort of fine gentlemen in their way. Ruffs were worn in all varieties, and frilled and tortured into every kind of shape : nevertheless, the flat sort which fall down on the shoulders was preferred for convenience sake upon most occasions. But then we must except the practices of the Spanish commanders and Tilly ; which latter followed the mode of Brussels, where he first grew acquainted with courts. Wigs were then hardly known ; most wore their own hair, managed carelessly enough, but cut short, *à la soldatesque*. Pappenheim, Piccolomini, and even Oxenstiern, affected a high bold foretop, which had a martial air, for it seemed to stand half upright. The rest smoothed down the front part with a milder appearance ; and Christian Duke of Brunswick, Bernard Duke of Saxe-Weimar, Dewbatel, and John de Wert, spread the hair half down their foreheads, in the manner

Vandyck's young men are painted. Whiskers were thought as necessary as swords. I remember no picture without them, excepting Duke Christian's of Brunswick, which prince was so very young, that perhaps he arrived not to the happy hour of wearing the mustachio. Their distinguishing vanity made its appearance in a gold chain, which each officer of distinction wore round his neck, fastened behind with a loop and button. Some of these chains were decorated in such a manner as to amount to a very great expense : yet it is thought, by many, that affectation was not the pure motive of wearing them, since they served to secure the owner from the fury of the enemy, in case of being taken prisoner, and proved a sort of retaining fee, engaged for the payment of a future ransom. The colour of their military scarf was arbitrary, and so were the materials ; but nothing was spared in the magnificence and richness of the embroidery. Their swords were large and heavy, not extremely ornamented ; their pistols very long ; the temper of metal in both incomparably perfect. Their boots were large, thick, and wrinkled, with high tops cut slant-ways, and made strong enough to resist a common pistol-ball, except it came in a particular direction. The oddness of their spurs is scarce to be accounted for : it is thought they were made to *jingle*, in order to animate the horses, and keep them up to their duty

without goring their flanks unmercifully. Many Generals armed themselves *cap-à-pie*: their breast-plates, helmets, and the junctures of their armour were often inlaid with gold and silver, richly dispersed with the same materials: and some few, but this must be restrained to the Swedish service, wore only back and breast-plates, with an upper suit of perfumed leather, prepared and stiffened so as to be a covering of resistance.

“ His Majesty himself wore nothing of the defensive nature, except an elk-skin waistcoat, which seems to me (notwithstanding the excuse alleged by him) to be matter of inclination and pure choice.

“ That we may judge better of the dress of warriors in the former part of the preceding century, history hath preserved to us a curious portrait of the Count de Tilly. He was a little man, and affected something of the Spaniard in his dress and manners, having received his first education at the court of the Infanta. Maréchal Grammont found him at the head of his army on a march, mounted on a small white Croatian pad, in a *green satin doublet, with slashed sleeves, and trowsers of the same stuff*; a little cocked hat, with a red ostrich plume in it, reaching down to his reins, and a belt round his waist of two inches breadth, to which hung his fighting sword, with a single pistol only in one of his holsters. This General, when the Frenchman

paid his compliments to him, said, 'Sir, perhaps you may find my accoutrements somewhat extraordinary, and not wholly reconcileable to the mode of France ; nevertheless, it is my humour, and that's sufficient. I am persuaded, likewise, that my little hackney, and single solitary pistol, surprise you as much as my habit ; but that you may not entertain an unfavourable opinion of the Count de Tilly, to whom you have done the honour of paying a visit of curiosity, permit me to inform you, that I have gained seven decisive battles, without being obliged to discharge the pistol now under consideration ; nor hath the little pad in question ever failed me, or hesitated in performing his duty.' In a word, saith Grammont, he had the look of the old Duke d'Alva, surnamed *Castigador de Flamencos*."

In the wars of William III. and Queen Anne, and indeed until the middle of the eighteenth century, the cavalry of Europe appear to have been usually drawn up in three ranks. A squadron consisted of about twenty to thirty files, (as represented by General Kane in his remarks on the discipline of that time,) in all about sixty to ninety men, with five officers in front and three officers or serjeants in rear of each squadron, besides two trumpeters and two farriers.

Their movements in the field were chiefly per-

formed by whole squadrons, which, with so narrow a front as twenty to thirty files, was convenient enough. The squadrons when drawn up in line, had intervals between them equal to the fronts or as the French termed it, "*tant plein que vide.*" For columns of route, and for the march of small detachments, they moved by four abreast, the same as the French have always continued to do up to the present time.

The regiments of "Horse" carried very large carbines with bayonets, huge holster pistols, and long straight broad-swords with basket hilts. The Dragoons rode horses of rather a lighter description than the "Horse Regiments," and carried regular muskets and bayonets, the butt of the musket in a "bucket" suspended from the fore part of the saddle. All the cavalry carried picket posts for securing their horses in camp.

*The infantry were every year becoming more manageable in columns and lines. They were drawn up three deep, and as the musket improved, their formations in line gave them the full advantage of an extended line of fire. They were also relieved of much unnecessary weight of accoutrement, and though still somewhat inconveniently dressed for marching, and encumbered with long hair, powder, and pigtails, yet their large loose coats were no confine-

ment to their necks, arms, and bodies, and their long gaiters were, after all, pretty much what our game-keepers find the best dress for walking.

Formerly in the British service any General or even Officer commanding a regiment might adopt or invent such manœuvres as he judged proper, except in the instance of a few regulations for review ; not even the manual exercise, nor the quick or slow march, were precisely defined by authority. Consequently, when regiments from different parts of the kingdom were brigaded, they were unable to act in line, till the General Officer commanding had established some temporary system to be observed by all under his orders. These inconveniences were at length, to a certain degree, obviated by the “ Rules and Regulations” compiled by General David Dundas on the system of Von Saldern, which professed to be copied from the Prussian discipline, established by Frederic the Great.

Although we seem in this instance, to stand indebted to a foreign power for our field tactics, it has been confidently asserted, that the best part of the system which the King of Prussia brought into universal notice, was that which was practised long before by the British troops under the Duke of Marlborough ; and that the Germans, with whom we were then in alliance, adopted most of

their manœuvres from us, adding, however, much that was superfluous.

But whatever the merit of the Regulation introduced in the British infantry, under the auspices of Sir D. Dundas, the fact is, that we owe to the master-hand which directed our armies in the Peninsular war, the reduction of that Regulation into a practical and effective form; and the establishment of the method of managing and moving large bodies which is now so generally acknowledged as the system peculiarly British. Among the leading features of this, may be reckoned the attack in line with a formation of two deep, (never attempted in any foreign army,) the mode of defending the crest of a position by causing the troops to lie down at a certain distance behind it until the enemy is almost close at hand, the formation of the hollow battalion square, with faces of four deep, and the movement of second lines and reserves in quarter-distance columns.

In the execution of all manœuvres constant reference should surely be had to real action, where no time can be spared for unnecessary ceremonies. The more simple a manœuvre is, the more useful it is likely to be in the presence of an enemy, and that formation which is the most simple, and the soonest executed, will always be the best, and the only one that can be adopted and applied with safety in the time of action.

As regards the continental armies, the French Revolution operated on the military system of Europe in a degree unprecedented in the annals of history. During the wars of which it was the cause and origin, everything underwent a great and important change ; old states were dissolved, new ones established, and France, like Aaron's rod, swallowed up whatever came within her reach. With the French military science assumed a new aspect ; and the tactics of Turenne, and Marshal Saxe were obliged to give place to a mode of warfare more suited to republican enthusiasm. Other nations have been under the necessity of new-modelling their armies, and changing their established systems of tactics, in order to counteract that of so enterprising an enemy.

“ When the revolution broke out into such excesses, says a writer of the time, that many of the most respectable of the French officers, of all ranks, could no longer, with consistency, or even safety, remain in the country, the army was left in a great degree, without commanders ; and other officers were appointed, frequently by the choice of the soldiers themselves, who having, almost to a man, been by various artifices gained over to favour the new order of things, naturally selected such officers from their body as had shown the greatest attachment to the cause which was considered to be that of the whole

nation and of each individual in it. These new-chosen officers were of course obliged, (often against their inclination,) to purchase the continuance of the favour of their fellow-soldiers, by a compliance subversive of subordination and discipline.

“ Such, at the commencement of the Revolution, was the condition of the troops of the line, or regular army of France. But the case was infinitely worse, when these regulars came to be united in the field with the volunteers, or *national guards*, as they were now termed : not that these volunteers were unacquainted with the use of arms, or even ignorant of actual service ; for, according to the military system adopted in France up to the epoch of the revolution, soldiers were enlisted only for eight years ; at the expiration of which they were entitled to their discharge, with certain honorary privileges. If they chose to renew their engagement for another term of eight years, they received an increase of pay ; and at the end of the third engagement, or twenty-four years, they received a medallion, or badge of honour, as a public proof of their good behaviour. The consequence of this regulation was, that there was scarcely a young man in France who had not borne arms, and *roulé*, as they called it ; that is, travelled over a great part of the kingdom, learned the military life in their numerous garrisons, as well as in country quarters, and acquired a share of that high point of honour on

which an old French soldier, as well as his officer, particularly prided himself.

“The national guards were therefore sufficiently accustomed to military exercises : but being intoxicated with wild notions of *liberty*, by whose sacred and venerable name every species of licentiousness was covered ; and of *equality*, which overthrew all justice between man and man ; it was utterly impossible to restrain them within those bounds of order and discipline, without a due regard to which no association of men, civil or military, can subsist.

“When their armies first took the field, about one-fourth only was composed of the old troops of the line, and the other three-fourths of volunteers or national guards. Jealousies from the natural impatience of the French temper, broke out between these discordant materials of the army. The troops of the line claimed the post of honour, and all other distinctions to which they had been accustomed : their claims were resisted by the national guards, and it was not without much difficulty that the Commanders of these armies were able to restrain the animosities which, on such occasions, threatened to break out into violence.

“The state of the cavalry was, if possible, worse than that of the infantry ; for the emigration in that part of the army had been proportionally greater. They were, however, less exposed to the admixture

of national guards, who, for many reasons, were almost all incorporated with the infantry.

“The artillery-men were extremely active, zealous, and even expert; but they could not be expected to be scientific. This deficiency was, however, in a great measure compensated by their spirit, their intelligence, and their numbers, which latter were prodigiously increased.

“The French revolutionary Generals early discovered the advantages resulting from dispatch; and the alertness of the soldiers, the lightness of their baggage, and their disregard of parade, enabled the French armies, as soon as order and subordination was established, to execute their movements in the field with a celerity which astounded their opponents.

“In their new system their troops were formed in Columns instead of Lines, which last could not be preserved without long training and practice, and they reduced their battles to attacks on certain points. Brigade succeeding brigade, and fresh troops supplying the place of those who were driven back.

“When their invasions were carried into rugged or mountainous countries, such as Savoy, Piedmont, and the Tyrol, the use of the mere Column was found impossible. To act in such situations with vigour, they employed corps of light-infantry and *chasseurs* to cover the advance of the Column. More than once their *tirailleurs* have decided actions of

importance. When checked and repulsed, they fell back on the column, which received them, and in its turn attacked the enemy, or sustained his shock.

“With all their predilection for the employment of light troops and tirailleurs, it was a constant maxim to have Columns of reserve in all the French armies, composed of their best troops and commanded by an able General. If the light troops were beaten, the Reserve secured their retreat. The precipitancy with which the French retired without observing order, would have been fatal in its consequences but for these Reserves; on more than one occasion, as at Marengo, the Reserve snatched the victory out of the hands of the enemy.”

Topography was carried to great perfection among the officers and soldiers of the Republican army. Whatever post a detachment occupied, they instantly reconnoitred it attentively; by which means if they were attacked, they had the valuable advantages of knowing the ground, and of being instructed beforehand in what was to be done.

When any grand operation was in agitation, the orders were general, and in their substance pointed out the object which the commander had in view. The commanders of corps confided the execution of their operations to their division and brigade officers. Their battles were in fact a compound

of several engagements that took place by separate divisions or brigades. They made it a point to keep their troops in constant movement and enterprise, for the chance of some favourable occurrence, and cared little about the sufferings of the soldiers and loss of life. When they wished to engage, they concentrated all their forces on the principal point, and often pushed this method even to temerity, by exposing themselves in other parts.

After the consummate skill and good-fortune of Buonaparte, and the faults of his antagonists, had delivered Piedmont to him, and opened the road to Lombardy, astonishment and terror went before him. The boldness with which he had passed the Po, at Placenza, and the Adda, at Lodi, paved the way to his successes, and covered the fault he was at one time thought to have committed, in proceeding to Milan rather than to Mantua.

In Germany, Moreau acted more according to the established method of warfare. Trained and instructed by Pichegru, one of the best officers in France, Moreau imitated his master, in the order and regularity of his plans. The military character of Moreau was different from that of the other French Generals; he had perhaps less boldness and fire, but great talent, method, and science. Buonaparte himself bore testimony to this, for on Moreau's return to Paris, after the convention of Hohenlinden

was signed, he received him in the presence of the foreign ambassadors and many of his own generals, and said to him—"General Moreau, you have made the campaign of a consummate and great captain, while mine has been only that of a young and fortunate man."

The French Commanders of the Revolution looked upon their losses as nothing, provided they succeeded in the end. The little value which they set upon the lives of their men, the certainty of being able to replace them, the personal ambition of their chiefs, and the customary superiority of their numbers, afforded them an advantage which could only have been counteracted by great skill, and activity, as well as that union and firmness of purpose in which their adversaries were so unfortunately wanting.

Nevertheless, the appearance of an Austrian army presented, at the period of the French revolution, a magnificent spectacle to military eyes. Marshal Lascy was the author of their system of tactics, a system which had hitherto been much respected by the whole of Europe, and which rested wholly upon discipline, science, and order. In one respect, however, he is thought to have gone too far. The light troops of the House of Austria had become famous in the "Seven years' war;" but Marshal Lascy converted them almost into re-

gular battalions, by which change they ceased to be excellent *light* troops, without becoming very good *regular* ones.

The inferiority of this part of the Austrian force, compared with the French, was particularly manifested in mountain contests. The defeats of 1795 and 1796, in the mountains of Genoa; their ill success in the hereditary provinces in 1797; the considerable losses they experienced in the Grison country in 1799; the overthrow of their fine army in Zurich, and their terrible disasters in the mountains of Nice, in 1800, evinced the inferiority of the Austrians in this kind of service. The Archduke Charles himself made but inconsiderable and slow advances, and every step he took was at the expense of extraordinary bloodshed, whenever he fought among mountains.

It has been supposed that if the Austrians had maintained their good light-infantry of the "Seven years' war" they would have done much better; but in their new mode of fighting, they preserved too strictly their solid formations, while the French tirailleurs hovered around and harassed and annoyed them, until they were at length overwhelmed with fatigue, thrown into disorder, and on several occasions either dispersed or laid down their arms. It was also a misfortune that this heavy infantry carried their

fear of being out-flanked to a degree which was extravagant; it might indeed almost be called a national disorder or delusion.

Their artillery was scientific and well composed : but instead of being an accessory, it was made too much of a principal ; instead of aiding the troops, the troops were too much obliged to guard and defend it, and render themselves subservient to the difficulties of its movements.

The Austrians employed an enormous quantity of troops in chains of posts, and in guards of every kind, which were frequently unnecessary. One part of their force was too often at such a distance in advance that it was defeated before it could receive support. The Reserve, too, was frequently placed so far in the rear, that the different corps were beaten and overthrown without having been able to fall back upon it in any degree of order.

The Russians, in their tactics, at the time of the French revolution, professed to be disciples of the Prussian school ; but they owed most of their success to the talents of that extraordinary man, Marshal Suwarrow. An intrepidity superior to all dangers, a prompt and active genius, and unbounded devotion to his country, made Marshal Suwarrow one of the greatest officers of his time. Never did a general so entirely possess the confidence of his troops : and this was natural, for victory had never

abandoned him. Suwarrow had formed his tactics from the war which he conducted against the Turks, where it was his invariable custom to anticipate their furious onset by attacking them himself.

The Russian soldier was at this time deficient in instruction rather than intelligence: the rigorous discipline of the army, and his absolute separation from all other nations (whose language and manners were then almost unknown to him,) made him more obedient to his officers, and more patient and hardy, than the soldier of any other European service.

Suwarrow not only excelled all other generals in influence over the minds of his soldiers, but was considered by many of those whom he led as an inspired man. He had become subject to some of the infirmities of age, when he came into Italy, as far as they affected the body; but his spirit preserved all its fire and vivacity. Everything however in his manner was singular and eccentric. His table was remarkable for its filth and bad cheer; he drank out of his neighbour's glass, and frequently the liquor that was left in it. His head-quarters were more like the tent of a Khan of Tartary, than those of the Generalissimo of the two imperial armies. Yet, in the midst of all these buffooneries (which, in any ordinary person, would have excited derision and contempt,) it was impossible not to feel great respect for his character, though mixed with surprise

and astonishment. Whether it was that they bore in mind the greatness of his exploits, or that they were imposed upon by his simplicity, his followers were **not** at all tempted to laugh at what was unquestionably absurd. When he conversed on war or politics, numberless observations replete with sense, and evincing **not only** his practical knowledge, but profound theory, in matters relative to war, were heard from the mouth of the person, whom, the moment before, men were tempted to look upon as in a state of madness or imbecility.

At the battle of Novi, the Russians were nearly destroyed in attacking inaccessible heights, which were covered with troops, and fortified with artillery : thrice did they fall back, repulsed, not by the superiority of the French troops, but by the nature of their position ; and thrice did they form again under the enemy's fire. If General Melas, with his Austrians, had not turned the right wing of the French, it appears probable that the Russian army must have experienced a total defeat ; but the good-fortune and genius of Suwarrow always extricated him from difficulties.

At Zurich, he was not present, and the Russians were overcome in that unfortunate battle through the badness of their disposition, the disadvantage of the ground, and the effects of surprise and misunderstanding. In Holland, they could not conquer canals, dykes, and inundations.—The me.

thod Suwarrow had taught them was to charge the enemy with the bayonet at full speed, and with loud cheers. No firing abated their impetuosity ; they attacked a battery in front, if that was a readier way than to attack it in flank ; to go forward, no matter at what cost of life, was their whole thought.

No troops in the world were so careless of being attacked in flank, or turned. Even the French, in their campaign in Poland, could not help admiring the steady firmness of the Russians ; and paid them a soldier's compliment, by declaring that " they received death better than they gave it."

The Heavy Cavalry of the Russian army was organized and formed after the Prussian model. The horses were large, strong, and hardy, and the men well disciplined and extremely steady in the field.

Their Cossacks were always excellent for advanced posts. Accustomed to live in vast and desert tracts of land, without any knowledge of a country or its language, and without guides, they marched forward like navigators in newly discovered seas ; and discovered their way with incredible sagacity. They were not capable of fighting in line of battle ; but were infinitely useful as light troops, for reconnoitring, for skirmishing, pursuing, and harassing an enemy, or for guarding camps. Their horses are small, and far from handsome ; but active, and fit to sustain every species of fatigue.

The following general orders, inserted in the Petersburg Court Gazette of the 28th of August, 1800, afford a curious picture (as far as it goes) of the state of instruction of part of the Russian army at that period, when considered in contrast with the well-disciplined and splendid Russian corps which formed part of the army of occupation on the French frontier only sixteen years afterwards.

“ GENERAL ORDERS.

“ His Imperial Majesty having observed, at the grand field-day of the 9th instant, old style, that the troops of the Finland inspection did not in any respect execute the dispositions they had received; and that the left column reached the assigned spot much sooner than the right; and that under the enemy's fire, without being covered either by horse or chasseurs, it awaited the arrival of the latter, formed by platoons: and that, during the retreat of the squadrons of horse along the front, one battalion fired upon its own cavalry:—Lieutenant-General Prince —— is hereby reprimanded by his Imperial Majesty; who moreover observes on this occasion, that a similar non-execution of orders, neglect, and indolence, on the part of the Generals, occasioned undoubtedly the loss of the battles in Switzerland and Holland. With regard to the troops who this day manœuvred under the orders of Major-General

Baron Diebitich, his Imperial Majesty presents each of them with a pound of meat *and a glass of gin.*

“ The artillery belonging to the Finland inspection, must, in future, avoid such disorder and confusion as took place this day in the battery commanded by Major — : who, accordingly, is hereby reprimanded. Major-General — is also hereby reprimanded, because his regiment continued to fire, at the time when it was already behind the line of grenadiers. His Imperial Majesty observes to the Generals of the Finland inspection, that he has himself witnessed how much improvement they want to be even Generals of moderate abilities ; and that, as long as they continue such, they are sure to be beaten every where, and by every one.”

A very few years completely altered this picture of the Russian army. Their long and bloody campaigns against the French brought their officers and soldiers to a high state of efficiency before the end of the war. This has been continued and improved ; and the Russian army, under the auspices of their heroic Emperor, is now become one of the finest in Europe.

Colonel G. Cathcart, in his interesting narrative of the Campaign of 1813, in Germany, when he attended his father as his aide-de-camp at the headquarters of the Allies, has, in the commencement of his book, given an excellent sketch of the method of

war pursued in latter times by the principal armies of Europe. Describing the manner in which Buonaparte carried on his operations in the field, Colonel Cathcart says :—

“ He trusted mainly to the influence of large concentrated masses of troops placed in reserve, and concealed from the enemy as much as possible. Having stationed these with judgment, and deep design as to their ulterior employment, it was his custom to commence operations ‘*entamer l’affaire*’ with numerous light troops along his whole front, whilst artillery appeared at various points, duly supported and guarded, and maintained a desultory cannonade. The object of this primary measure was often to deceive his opponents as to his real intentions, and induce them to engage and compromise their whole force along an extensive front. When this object was gained, and a sufficient knowledge was obtained of the position and circumstances of the enemy, the decisive moment was seized in which to bring in an overwhelming force, ‘*en masse*,’ preceded by a swarm of light infantry, and covered by a concentrated power of artillery, to bear on some weak or unguarded point of the enemy’s position, and thereby decide the victory, which large bodies of cavalry stood in readiness to complete. But as to any grand line movements of the whole army after the manner of Frederic the Great, nothing of that sort ever oc-

curred, nor even, if desirable, would it have been practicable in the existing state of tactical proficiency among his soldiery. No doubt occasional deployments into line were had recourse to, for special purposes of attack or defence, by single battalions or brigades, or even larger bodies when called for by circumstances at the moment of action, but nothing like an 'order of battle,' as it was called in the earlier part of the last century, and which meant a preconcerted array of numerous battalions, deployed and forming two or more lines, was ever thought of in the new mode of warfare."

This appears a very correct description of the method adopted by Buonaparte in the management and employment of his armies in the field; but it may be further observed, that he sometimes used his bodies of heavy cavalry in a manner almost peculiar to himself, namely, by throwing them forward at a very early period of a general action to gain sudden possession of a position, and then supporting them with masses of infantry to secure and make good the ground thus seized in the first instance by the cavalry.

In our last wars with France, the effect of this latter plan seems to have been met and counteracted in all its material points, by the system of war before alluded to as peculiarly British. For instance, the attack in column, when attempted against steady and well-

formed lines, was defeated by the extended line of fire, which pouring into the front and flanks of the crowded mass as it advanced, caused a destruction which all the natural spirit and bravery of the French troops, and the gallant leading of their officers, could not withstand. These columns, however boldly they came forward, became shaken and disordered on a nearer approach, melted away from the rear, and when once thrown into confusion, became impossible to rally.

Then the same troops which displayed such firmness in line against the attack of the French infantry columns, being always able, from their admirable training and discipline, to convert, with incredible rapidity, their lengthened front into Squares for opposing cavalry, it was of little avail to attempt the practice of seizing positions by furious onsets of cavalry. It is true, they might succeed, as at Waterloo, in occupying for a moment the ground before them, but their order was immediately destroyed under the heavy fire of Squares into which they could never force their way. They could, and did, certainly penetrate between them, but this only resulted in their utter destruction, without a chance of any serious damage to their adversaries, so long as the Squares maintained their formidable attitude ; on the other hand, to retreat was equally fatal as to remain, because, once freed of their presence, the

Squares rapidly deployed, and overwhelmed them with their fire as they retired.

Nor must the advantage of this system of the British troops be overlooked as regards its connexion with artillery, for when the French cavalry dashed forward against the position, the gunners creeping under their guns or seeking the protection of the Squares, were enabled, the instant they withdrew, to open a destructive fire of grape-shot upon the retreating squadrons.

ESSAY XXII.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR COMMAND.

MARSHAL SAXE, one of the most accomplished officers of his time, has left us an interesting sketch of the Qualifications he deemed necessary for command, many of which he himself is considered to have possessed in an eminent degree. At the same time he seems to place his standard of perfection far beyond any ordinary limit of mortal merit and capacity.

“The most indispensable requisite to a general,” says he, “is valour ; without which all the rest will prove nugatory. The next is a sound understanding, with some genius : for he must be not only coura-

geous, but fertile in expedients. The third is health, and a robust constitution. His mind must be capable of prompt and vigorous resources ; he must have a talent and aptitude for discovering the designs of others, without betraying the slightest trace of his own. He must be seemingly communicative, in order to encourage others to unbosom, but remain tenaciously reserved in matters that concern his own army ; he must possess activity with judgment, be able to make a proper choice of his officers, and never deviate from the strictest line of military justice. Great abilities will justify exceptions ; but ignorance and inactivity will not be compensated for, by years spent in the profession.

“ In his deportment he must be affable, and always superior to peevishness or ill-humour ; he must not know, or at least not seem to know, what a spirit of resentment is : when he is under the necessity of inflicting military chastisement, he must see the guilty punished, without being influenced by a mistaken humanity.

“ A General must divest himself of personal sensations ; and not only be convinced himself, but convince others, that he is the organ of military justice, and that what he does is absolutely necessary for the public good.

“ The resources of a General's mind should be as various as the occasions for the exercise of

them are numerous. He must be master of the art of knowing how to support an army in all circumstances and situations: how to apply its strength, or be sparing of its energy and confidence; how to post all its different component parts, so as not to be forced to give or receive battle in opposition to his own plans. When once engaged, he must have presence of mind to grasp all the relative points of disposition and arrangement, to seize favourable moments for impression, and to be thoroughly conversant with the infinite vicissitudes that occur during the heat of a battle. A general must on the day of battle be divested of every thought, and be inaccessible to every feeling, but what immediately regards the business of the day: he must reconnoitre with the promptitude of a skilful geographer, whose eye collects instantaneously all the relative portions of locality, and feels his ground as it were by instinct; and in the disposition of his troops, he must make all his arrangements with accuracy and despatch.

“The general officers who act under such a commander must be ignorant of their business indeed, if, upon receipt of his orders, they should be unequal to execute them by a prompt and ready co-operation. So that he has only to issue directions according to the circumstances

as they arise, and to rest satisfied that every Division will act in conformity to his intentions; but if, on the contrary, he should so far forget his situation as to act the part of a drill-serjeant in the heat of action, he will find himself in the case of the fly in the fable, which perched upon a wheel, and foolishly imagined that the motion of the carriage was influenced by its own position. The instant a favourable opening offers, by which the contest may be decided, it then (and not till then) may become his duty to head the nearest body of troops, and without any regard to personal safety, to advance against the enemy's line. It is, however, impossible to lay down rules, or to specify with accuracy all the different ways, by which victory may be obtained. It must depend upon the casualty of events, and intermediate occurrences, which no human foresight can ascertain; but which, when they do appear, may be converted to good purposes by a quick eye, a ready conception, and a prompt execution. Prince Eugene was singularly gifted with these qualifications; particularly with that self-possession which constitutes the essence of a military character.

“ Some commanders have been so limited in their ideas of warfare, that when events have brought the contest to issue, and two rival armies

have been drawn out for action, their whole attention has devolved upon a straight alignment, an equality of step, or a regular distance in the intervals of columns. They have considered it sufficient to give answers to questions proposed by their Staff-officers, to send orders in various directions, and to gallop themselves from one quarter to another, without steadily adhering to the fluctuations of the day, or calmly watching for an opportunity to strike a decisive blow. They endeavour, in fact, to do everything; and thus they do nothing. They appear like men whose presence of mind deserts them the instant they are taken out of the beaten track, or are required to supply unexpected calls by uncommon exertions. And whence do these contradictions arise? From an ignorance of those high qualifications, without which the mere routine of duty, methodical arrangement, and studied discipline, must fall to the ground. Many officers spend their whole lives in putting a few regiments through a regular set of manœuvres; and having done so, they vainly imagine that all the science of a military man consists in that acquirement. Consequently, when, in process of time, the command of a large army falls to their duty, they are lost in the magnitude of the undertaking.

“ Military knowledge, as far as it regards a gene-

ral, or commander-in-chief, may be divided into two parts : one comprehending mere discipline, and settled systems for putting a certain number of rules into practice ; and the other originating in a greatness of conception, which method may assist, but cannot give.

“ It has been my fate,” continues the Marshal, “ to see several very excellent colonels become indifferent generals. I have known others, who have distinguished themselves at sieges, and in the different evolutions of an army, lose their presence of mind and appear ignorant of their profession, the instant they were taken from that particular line, and become incapable of commanding a few squadrons of horse. Should a man of this cast be put at the head of an army, he will confine himself to mere dispositions and manœuvres : to them he will look for safety ; and if once thwarted, his defeat will be inevitable, because his mind is not capable of other resources.

“ I am not an advocate for pitched battles ; especially at the commencement of a war. A skilful general might, I am persuaded, carry on a war of considerable length without being once obliged to come to a decisive general action. Nothing harasses and eventually distresses an enemy so much as this species of warfare.

“ But it must not be inferred from this opinion, that when an opportunity presents itself by which an enemy may be crushed at once, the attack should not be made, or that advantage should not be taken of the errors he may commit : all I mean to assert is, that war can be carried on without leaving much to chance ; and in this consists the perfection of generalship. But when a battle is risked, the triumphant party ought well to know all the advantages which may be derived from his victory.

“ A wise Commander will not remain satisfied with having made himself master of the mere field of battle, but it is too much the maxim of some officers to facilitate the retreat of an enemy. Nothing can be more impolitic. An enemy, on the contrary, ought to be vigorously pushed and harassed night and day in his retreat. The advancing army must drive him from all his holds and positions ; and his retreat will ultimately turn out a complete overthrow. Ten thousand well-trained and disciplined troops, hanging upon the rear of a retiring enemy, will be able to destroy an army of treble their force, when that army has been once forced to make a hurried retreat. Want of confidence in their generals, added to other disheartening circumstances, will naturally possess their minds. A first defeat, well followed up, almost always terminates in a total route, and finishes the contest.”

In order to substantiate what he thus advances the Marshal cites, among others, the following particular instance :—

“When the French army, after the battle of Ramillies, in 1706, was retiring in good order over an eminence that was rather confined, and on both sides of which there were deep ravines, the cavalry belonging to the allies followed its track leisurely, without even appearing to wish to harass or attack its rear. The French continued their march with the same composure, retreating upon more than twenty lines, on account of the narrowness of the ground. On this occasion, a squadron of English horse got close to two French battalions, and began to fire upon them. The two battalions, naturally presuming that they were going to be attacked, faced about, and fired a volley at the squadron. What was the consequence? the whole of the French army took to its heels; the cavalry went off at full gallop; and the infantry, instead of retiring with regularity over the heights, threw itself into the ravines in such dreadful disorder, that the ground above was almost instantly abandoned, and not a French soldier was seen upon it.

“Let any military man consider this notorious event, and then praise the regularity of a retreat, and the prudent foresight of those who, after an

enemy has been vanquished in the field, relax in their exertions, and give him time to breathe. I do not, however, pretend to say, that all the forces of a victorious army should be employed to follow up the pursuit; but I am decidedly of opinion, that strong parties should be detached for that purpose, and that the flying enemy should be annoyed as long as the day lasts. Let it be remembered, that when an enemy has once begun to retreat in earnest, you may drive him before you by the noise of empty bladders. If the officer who is detached in the pursuit of an enemy begins to manœuvre after prescribed rules and regulations, and operate with slowness and precision, he should be recalled; for the sole purpose of his employment is to push on vigorously, to harass and distress the foe.

“I shall conclude these observations by saying, that all retreats depend upon the talents and abilities of generals, who must themselves be governed by circumstances and situations: but I will venture to assert, that no retreat can succeed, unless it be made before an enemy who acts with blameless excess of caution; for if the latter follow up his first blow, the vanquished army must soon be thrown into confusion.”

Henry IV. of France appears to have possessed wonderful qualities for the command of troops, and

for obtaining influence over all under his command. In Sully's memoirs we find an interesting account of his energy, spirit, and confidence, in a case of difficulty. Sully writes:—

“ After the defeat of the convoy and detachment sent to relieve the town, (Laon,) the King continued the siege without interruption, until he received intelligence that the Duke de Mayenne and Count Mansfeldt, far from being discouraged by their late failure, talked confidently of forcing his lines, as soon as some fresh troops, which he expected, should arrive.

“ Marshal Biron treated this news with contempt, but his Majesty, who never neglected any intelligence, was not easy on the subject, until he had dispatched Givry with three hundred horse, to make a close reconnoissance of the exact position and force of the enemy. He returned after three days, and reported that there was not a single company on their side of the river Oise, and that the Spaniards were thinking more of retreating into the Low Countries, than of any attempt to relieve Laon.

“ On the faith of this report, the King ordered arrangements to be made for a party of pleasure for next day, to go and dine at St. Lambert, a country-house which had belonged to his family, situated in the middle of the forest, where he remembered

having often been in his boyish days to eat fruit and fresh cheese, and to drink milk, while he lived at the Château de Marle in that vicinity.

“Accordingly we went next day with him to St. Lambert, the party consisting of about thirty. Now as the King has passed part of the preceding night in visiting, as was his custom, the trenches, batteries, and mines of the siege, he fell asleep immediately after he had finished his dinner. His good constitution, and the frequent habit of fatigue, had enabled him to sleep at any time, and to awake again whenever he chose. The weather being extremely hot, eight or ten of us set off into the thickest of the forest, to enjoy the coolness of the shade. After strolling for about a quarter of a league towards the main road which led from La Fere to Laon, we began to hear a noise in the direction of La Fere, which gradually attracted our anxious attention, for as it appeared to come nearer, we could distinguish a confused hum of voices, the cracking of whips, neighing of horses, and other sounds in the distance.

“We cautiously advanced towards the high road, and now perceived, at about eight hundred paces before us, a column of infantry, marching in silence and good order. The noise we had heard proceeded from a number of followers in their rear, and also

from the waggons of a convoy. Beyond these again we thought we could perceive in the far distance so many troops, that it seemed almost certain that the enemy was in full march for Laon with his whole army. We hastened back as fast as we could, and found the King awakened from his slumber, and busy shaking the branches of a plum tree, to get down the fruit. ‘By our faith, sire,’ we exclaimed to him, ‘we have been seeing some people on the road who are likely to give us very different plums from these, and much harder of digestion.’ We soon explained ourselves; not a moment was to be lost, and the King was the more inclined to believe us from having himself heard a noise within the last few minutes, but loth to suppose Givry had acquitted himself so badly of his commission, he had concluded that the sounds came from his own camp.

“The King instantly dispatched a dozen of us to the different quarters of the cavalry (of which he had always the list in his pocket) to give the alarm, and to desire them all to assemble at his Majesty’s own quarter. Others he sent to the infantry, to order them to turn out as quickly as possible, and form in rear of his quarters, and in front of the trenches. While giving these instructions, he mounted his horse, and, as he galloped along, continued to make his dispositions, and to issue orders

to all he met, with the same method and judgment as if he had all along been prepared for a general action.

“Owing to his readiness, and that admirable presence of mind which enabled him to seize every detail, where most people, instead of forming any organised plan, would scarce have been able to take any rational determination, the enemy did not succeed in surprising a single post, which probably saved the army from a serious disaster: for there is no denying that if the enemy’s cavalry, who came up, just as ours had taken up their ground, and began rapidly to form their squadrons, had once succeeded in creating a panic among our men, with the King and so many officers absent from their posts, he would have met with little difficulty in breaking in upon us, and fear and confusion would have done the rest.

“This one example sufficiently proves what an advantage it is for the general of an army to possess that quality of mind which is capable of grappling with any detail, and which enables him to keep in mind the names, fitness, and good and bad qualifications, both of his officers and the different troops under their command. A man so gifted will render his officers attached to their profession, by softening all unnecessary rigour of discipline, not harassing them with continual orders, but accustoming

them never to neglect what directions they do receive, and to execute them fully ; in short, he will know how to make himself promptly obeyed, without instilling that fear of him which might deprive him of the advantage of their judgment, an inconvenience which in all periods has been a source of disaster both to generals and to the armies they command.”

Turenne and Condé were conspicuous, above all the generals of their day, in high qualifications for command. Mr. Dunlop says in reference to their famous campaign, when opposed to each other in Flanders :—

“ Modern history has seldom presented a more interesting spectacle than this struggle between the armies of the two chief powers of Europe, conducted on the one part by Condé, and on the other by Turenne, the greatest captains then in the world. These illustrious rivals gained but little advantage over each other on the spot where they were mutually opposed. Condé took Rocroy, and Turenne recaptured Mouzon and St. Menchould. Though these losses or acquisitions were not apparently attended with any important results, they interest us from the manner in which each commander, by his military resources and ~~wartlike~~ expedients, so long foiled his antagonist, and rendered no advantage on either side permanent, or loss irreparable. ‘ It was,’ says Lord Clarendon, ‘ a wonderful and pleasant thing to

see and observe, in attacks or in marches, with what foresight either of them would declare what the other would do. Thus the Prince of Condé, when the armies marched near each other, and the Spaniards would not alter their former lazy pace, nor give up their rest at noon, would in choler tell them, if we do not make haste to possess such a pass, Turenne will take it. This often gave rise to some *ruse de guerre*, for each being aware that his rival penetrated his designs, and knowing that he would act on the belief that the most dexterous and judicious manœuvre would be performed by his adversary, often took him by surprise, by means of a stroke contrary to the rules of war, and which would otherwise have been accounted bad generalship.' The Duke of York, who served alternately under Turenne and Condé, informs us, 'that these two great men, without being any other way advertised of each other's being there, yet found it ~~out~~ on both sides, by their mutual conduct. Turenne affirming that Condé was on the other hill, and that otherwise he would have pressed those troops more than now he would adventure to do; and Condé saying the like of Turenne, adding further, that if any one besides him had been there, he would certainly have charged him.'

"The military genius of both commanders, and the number of their troops, were nearly equal, and they had similar difficulties to contend with. For if

Condé was controlled by Fuensaldagna, and thwarted by his capricious ally, the Duke of Lorraine, the enterprises of Turenne were often traversed by the jealousy and animosity of his colleague, the *Marechal de la Ferté*."

The same judicious author (Mr. Dunlop) describes the extraordinary contest between Condé and the Generals in command of the Spanish Armies.

"The Spaniards," he tells us, "were sufficiently sensible of the importance of the acquisition they had gained in the alliance of Condé, and treated him with every degree of external respect. But he was much, and perhaps justly, dissatisfied. He complained of the ineffective state of the Spanish troops, the want of artillery and ammunition, and the bad repair of the fortresses. Nor could he, with all his energy and vivacity, inspire the Spanish Generals with any degree of vigour, or accelerate their tardy movements. An attack on any place by night was entirely out of the question. They would only march during the most pleasant part of the day. They required in the afternoon a long *siesta*, and, whatever the emergency, none of their domestics could venture to disturb, nor durst any inferior officer act without their express commands. During the campaign in the Netherlands, Turenne, accompanied by the Duke of York, (afterwards James II.,) was one morning reconnoitring the lines which the Spaniards had

drawn round a town they were besieging. The French Marechal, who intended to force them, pointed out to His Royal Highness a spot where he would that day make his attack at noon. One of the chief officers in attendance, on hearing this, showed him another part of the line, on the opposite side, which was much weaker. ‘ It seems, indeed, to be so,’ replied the Marechal, ‘ but there Condé holds his post, and he never sleeps ; while in this quarter, which is apparently the strongest, lies the Count of Fuensaldagna ; and I will tell you *what* will happen, for I have marched in the Spanish army, and know well their customs. For a long while they will suppose that we only mean to give a false alarm ; but when they at length find we are in earnest, they will send for Fuensaldagna, who at that time of day will be asleep, and his servants will not be persuaded to awaken him in a moment. And when he is at length roused, he will take a look of the line, and then repair to the tent of the Archduke, who will be likewise at his siesta, and when he is awake, they will consult *what is to be done*, by which time *we shall have done*.’ And they did attack and enter the Lines accordingly, and afterwards found, from the prisoners, that everything had fallen out as the Marshal had foretold.

The editor of the Memoirs of the celebrated Mar-

shal Berwick describes his admirable qualities for command as follows :—

“ Few people had seen so much service as Marshal Berwick ; he had been engaged in twenty-nine campaigns, in fifteen of which he had commanded armies ; yet, as a general officer, he had witnessed but six battles, and, at one of them only had commanded in chief, namely, that of Almanza. It is surprising to find so few battles, in so many campaigns where he had been in command ; but he himself accounts for this circumstance by giving it as his opinion, that a general ought never to give battle if possibly to be avoided, because the result must always be uncertain, and it would be imprudent to risk the success of a campaign, of a war, and often even the fate of a state, when by skilful dispositions, and able manœuvres, his object can be accomplished, without that hazard. If, then, he did not seek to engage in general actions, and if he disregarded the lustre which they shed over the lives of great commanders, this proceeded, if one may say so, from bravery of a superior kind. He considered it a positive duty to shun the useless shedding of blood, to avoid which, in consideration of the general good, he would spare no labour, and preferred it to the individual glory which he might have secured in battles, where his consummate military

skill would probably have given him the advantage over his antagonist.

“ In sieges, a branch of warfare in which he was eminently skilful, he was equally governed by this humane principle, and very careful of the lives of his troops. For their preservation he would prefer the tedious labour of the sap, and the prolongation of the siege, to hasty and sanguinary attacks which might shorten his operations at the expense of much precious blood.”

In another part of the same work we read—
“ Perhaps few officers ever possessed more coolness of judgment and steadiness of resolution than Marshal Berwick. Ready to listen to reasonable arguments from those whose opinions he respected, he nevertheless invariably reserved to himself the right of forming his own decision.” The editor of his Memoirs gives an instance of this, in a short sketch of his character.

“ His usual firmness caused him occasionally to set aside the decisions of scientific officers, when he had a clear and strong conviction that they were in error. He was too well instructed in every part of the art of war, and too judicious, to let himself be drawn into that blind confidence with which their decisions sometimes inspire ordinary minds. Thus at the siege of the Castle of Nice, in 1705, he did not hesitate, after carefully examining and recon-

noitring the place, to deviate from the opinion of Marshal Vauban, (though communicated to him by Louis XIV. himself,) and to attack that fortress on the very side which Vauban had pronounced to be impregnable. His success, and the experience acquired during the siege, proved that Marshal Berwick had shown the best judgment in his choice of the vulnerable point, and that he had discovered what had escaped the observation of that celebrated engineer. But he showed so little self-conceit, that he never gave offence to those whose opinions he opposed."

A remarkable contrast as to qualification for command was presented by the conduct of Prince Ferdinand on the one hand, and Lord G. Sackville on the other, at the battle of Minden, in 1759, which victory would have been attended with far more advantageous results, if Lord G. Sackville had been imbued with that proper sense of public duty without which no man is fit for command. He allowed himself, under the influence of a contemptible jealousy of Prince Ferdinand, to quibble over the order for the cavalry to advance upon the routed battalions of the French, until the critical opportunity had passed, and Marshal Broglie and Contades had got them off the field, after sustaining great loss from the heavy fire of the British infantry. "In vain," says Lord Mahon, in his clear narrative of the affair, "did the

Prince sent to Lord George in succession one German and two English aides-de-camp, with reiterated directions, (Colonel Fitzroy, Captain Ligonier, and Captain Winzingerode,) all with orders to advance. Lord George exclaimed, that surely His Highness could not intend to break the line, and that he must ride off and speak to the Prince himself. Meanwhile Prince Ferdinand, losing all patience, sent orders to the Marquis of Granby, who commanded the second line of cavalry. He advanced with the greatest alacrity ; but above half-an-hour had been wasted, and the opportunity was lost.

“ Under such circumstances the victory of Minden would have been much less signal and complete, but for the cool judgment of Prince Ferdinand in having previously sent round to the rear of the French a corps of 10,000 men, under his nephew the Hereditary Prince, who attacked the Duke de Brissac’s force, employed to preserve the French line of communication, and thus rendered their flight a scene of disorder and confusion.

“ At the Court-martial by which Lord George was tried for disobedience of orders, the three aides-de-camp of Prince Ferdinand established in the clearest manner the charge of orders brought and not obeyed. Captain Ligonier had bid him advance with the whole of the cavalry, and Colonel Fitzroy

with the British cavalry only. At the same time Lord George had observed, 'Captain Ligonier your orders are contradictory.' But then Ligonier had replied, 'In number only, my Lord; their destination is the same.' In like manner Lord George had desired Fitzroy not to be in a hurry. 'I am out of breath with galloping,' said Fitzroy, 'which makes me speak quick, but my orders are positive; the French are in disorder, here is a glorious opportunity for the English to distinguish themselves.'"

From the evidence of another officer, Colonel Sloper, Lord Mahon inclines to an opinion that fear had some share in Lord George's hesitation; but with all deference for the opinion of so impartial an historian, and one whose diligence and judgment have been so well employed upon a period of history too much obscured by the contradiction of party writers, it may be reasonably doubted whether fear was likely to affect a man of reputed bravery at the moment of victory, which usually imparts even to the cowardly breast that appearance of enthusiasm which passes for courage. Be this, however, as it may, there could be no doubt but that Lord George Sackville had proved himself not qualified for command, and the Court-martial, in spite of his proud and resolute bearing, and the ingenuity of his defence, which he conducted with

that acuteness and ability which afterwards rendered him so formidable in the House of Commons, sentenced him to be cashiered.

The following character of General Zieten by a German author, seems to exemplify all the first and noblest qualities of a good officer and of a worthy man.

“Uniting wisdom with courage, contempt of danger with perseverance, activity with presence of mind, unruffled in the heat of battle; singularly accurate and concise in giving his orders; foreseeing everything, prepared for everything, he was invariably able to turn the circumstances of the moment to advantage. His military glance was correct and rapid; he was equally admirable in attack and defence. He was disinterested and unassuming; ever careless of acquiring the approbation of the great, or the admiration of the multitude, he was more desirous to be really good than to appear so. Ready to do justice to the merit of another, he esteemed every one who was commendable for conduct and virtues, and openly contemned such as were degraded by their vices. Incapable of servile cringing to authority, he invariably supported his dignity and character on every occasion. Such had been the general tenor of his conduct during the two Silesian wars, that he was considered as the tutelary genius of the army, the safety of which was in fact committed to

his care in every march that was undertaken. Were the enemy to be attacked?—his station was in the van. Was it expedient to withdraw from action?—he it was who covered the retreat.

“In the midst of the tumults of war he ever preserved those social virtues which had marked the early period of his life. Guided and sustained by rational piety, his moral character still shone with undiminished lustre; while his talents, his faculties, his religious principles, acquired new force as he advanced in his brilliant career. The horrors of war to which he had been inured, never steeled his heart to the softer calls of humanity. Severe in the field, and inexorable in whatever regarded the duties of the military life, he was in all other respects remarkable for the gentleness,[†] and complacency, of his manners. He was ever ready to accommodate those whom he commanded, to the utmost of his power; or to lighten with a kind word, a look, a smile, the hardships they had to endure. Just and impartial, he tolerated no oppression, no persecution; and though exact in the infliction of punishments, he was still more so in recompensing every noble action. The laws of war never induced him to overlook the sacred rights of mankind. Far from countenancing any kind of exaction, he was the friend and protector of the unfortunate inhabitants of the places which became the seat of war.”

“When the army was encamped, Zieten was never satisfied till he had examined everything, entered into the minutest details, supplied every omission, and provided for every event.

By day and by night, while others were taking their repose, he was on horseback, examining the face of the country, in order to discover on what point the enemy might probably make an attack, and what spots were best adapted for defence. It is to the credit of Frederic, who was not usually of an indulgent disposition, that when the infirmities of age began to grow upon Zieten, and it sometimes happened that he fell asleep at the royal table, the King would never allow him to be disturbed. The first time that the company, upon such an occasion, were about to awaken him, his Majesty interrupted them, and said, — ‘Let him sleep on ; he has watched long enough for us.’

It was one of Frederick the Great’s failings to take prejudices and dislikes to particular officers and regiments. If by any chance he fancied they had, through neglect or mistake, caused the failure of some favourite operation, he was too apt to refuse to listen to reasonable justification, and treat them with contempt or harshness.

On such occasions injured merit might always look for help and protection to Zieten, and he would

never cease from his endeavours to set the King's mind right, and to find opportunities of enabling those who had unjustly lost his favour to regain it by their own acts. In the campaign of 1761, the King, with a view to hinder the junction of the enemy's two armies, had recourse to several rapid movements; and, one day, having ordered Zieten to make a reconnoissance in the neighbourhood of Kloster-Wahlstadt, the General detached to the left, for the purpose of examining a wood, two squadrons of the regiment of Finkenstein's dragoons, — a corps against which his Majesty entertained a prejudice. The head of this little column came upon a body of Austrian cavalry, consisting (as it afterwards appeared) of no less than forty-two squadrons. As they were confined to a narrow pass, it was possible to attack them with advantage, provided the charge was made in a bold manner, and with all the appearance of being properly supported. The commanding officer of the two squadrons determined upon the attempt. The King, in the meantime, sent one of his aides-de-camp, with all possible expedition, to order Zieten to prevent the two squadrons from attacking the Austrian cavalry, as he thought they were not sufficiently strong for the attempt. The General sent back the officer, with the following reply: — “Inform the King that I request him to let them go on, and that he

himself will have the goodness to be witness to their success: that I have always said they were a brave regiment; that it is now their business to show themselves such; and that I will take care to send them some support." The dragoons performed prodigies of valour; the promise of Zieten was realized; and the King, on their return, publicly told them they had regained his confidence, and conferred upon every officer engaged the order of military merit."

We cannot better conclude a subject of such interest and importance than by reminding the reader that in the Despatches of the Duke of Wellington we possess a most extraordinary record of all the essential qualifications for command which could well be united in any single person. No memoir or history ever laid bare the character of a man so absolutely and unreservedly as do these despatches. Throughout their pages the greatest and the smallest matters are discussed and commented upon with equal frankness, decision and perspicuity. From first to last all is practical. In moments of triumph and success, which might have elated the coolest head, the Duke still preserves the same calm reasonable

tone which he uses in describing the ordinary events and operations of the war, and when affairs seemed at their worst, no depression or despondency can be traced in his orders and correspondence. To make the best of it seems always to have been his sole idea.

A clever French writer, in a periodical called the "Revue des deux Mondes," has observed upon the Duke's despatches, that the word *glory* never occurs in any one of them.

"Duty, and obedience, and order," he says, "is to be found in every page; when speaking of any signal success, the Duke is not sparing of his praise of the officers and troops engaged, but it is always without boast, or even enthusiasm; it is presented as a just and well-merited tribute to conduct, ability, and bravery, and not unfrequently accompanied by some valuable reflection on the good discipline to which their success might chiefly have been owing."

The same French writer expresses his astonishment at the Duke's intimate knowledge of detail, and the energy with which the smallest matters relative to the account, the clothing, the equipment, the victualling, and supplying the soldiers, were followed up in the Peninsular war by the Commander-in-Chief of the armies of three nations. He justly observes, that the love of order appeared a

positive necessity to the Duke—nothing was ever forgotten, nothing deferred, nothing left to others care, which regarded the health and advantage of the soldier, and the consequent efficiency of the army.

To the instruction and improvement of officers of all ranks, and to raising them in habits and character, the same unwearied zeal is everywhere apparent throughout the despatches. Is it then to be wondered at that such universal qualifications for command should have perfected the discipline, and gained the confidence of the army? Order after order inculcated what the officer should consider his duty, and what the soldier should know he ought to do, and must do; and since those lessons, as often as they were tested before the enemy, invariably proved their own importance and truth, a confidence naturally arose among the troops, which not only enabled them to march to victory as to a certainty, but laid the foundation of that discipline which has brought the whole military system of Great Britain to the high state of perfection which it has never ceased to maintain.

THE END.

LONDON :

PRINTED BY G. J. PALMER, SAVOY STREET, STRAND.

ERRATA.

- Page 13, line 7, *for* Mordant, *read* Mordaunt.
35, line 4 from foot, *for* aad, *read* and.
85, line 3 from top, *for* regards, *read* considerations.
117, line 13 from top, *for* Gonsalvo, *read* Gonzalvo.
132, line 2 from top, insert *after* 1576, the Count de Calvo.
149, line 11, *for* hast, *read* has.
153, line 15, *omit* the.
160, line 5, *for* meanst. *read* mean.
169, Lieflander is ~~the~~ old German *for* a Livonian.
177, line 12, *after* obloquy, *read* are.
204, line 9, *for* Schied, *read* Schkidlow.
208, line 7, *for* Marshall, *read* Marshal.
212, line 14, *for* to get, *read* of getting.
line 5 from foot, *for* answerable, *read* adequate.
220, line 16, *for* of, *read* on.
278, last line of note, *for* arm, *read* army.
400, line 10 from foot, *for* science, *read* service.

